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ABSTRACT

The publication presents the final report of the U.S. Office of Education citizen education project, focusing on major issues relating to the concepts of citizenship and citizen education. The objective is to contribute to a clear delineation of goals, strategies, and needs. The document is divided into five chapters. Chapter I explains the need for citizen education; how the concept of democratic citizenship evolved; and the history, evolution, and core elements and tensions of citizen education in the United States. Chapter II discusses patterns of political learning among American children, adolescents, and adults focusing on both cognitive development and social learning. Chapter III emphasizes the influence of the family and the peer group on children and adolescents and describes a variety of school-based programs in citizen education. Chapter IV discusses selected citizen education activities of the media, voluntary/community groups, business and labor unions, and all levels of the government. The concluding chapter reaffirms the need for citizen education, lists 15 developments occuring within the past five years, and recommends that there be national leadership in this area sustained by a genuine commitment to major improvement. It also recommends nine goals for leadership activities, including reestablishing citizen education as a basic goal of schooling, designing professional training experiences, coordinating school and community resources, and broadening the constituency served by citizen education. (CK)

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1980

CITIZEN EDUCATION TODAY:

DEVELOPING CIVIC COMPETENCIES

A Report of the Citizen Education Staff
U.S. Office of Education

By

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and

Karen S. Dawson

SP 012 608

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We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path . . . that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our nation and ourselves.

Remarks of President Jimmy Carter
in his address to the Nation,
July 15, 1979

PREFACE

A concern about citizen apathy in the United States, apparent neglect of citizen education in the schools, and discrepancies between changing social and political conditions and educational practice led to the creation of the Citizen Education Staff Office in the U.S. Office of Education (USOE). In November 1975, upon urging from a number of foundation and university representatives, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) directed the Commissioner of Education to undertake a study of citizen education and make recommendations for its improvement.

The policy advisor to the Commissioner convened an advisory committee of educational theorists and leaders to launch the project. A broad concept of citizen education emerged from their discussions. In the committee's view, diverse social agents contribute to citizen development. Young children learn about citizenship from parents, peers, television; through club and church or synagogue membership and in school. Adults develop as citizens in a number of ways--through their contact with public officials, through exercising and experiencing authority at work, or their involvement in politics and policymaking.

The need to map these processes and activities and link them with educational programs, research, and theory became the focus of the USOE citizen education project. The staff employed the term "citizen education" so as to move away from older and narrower concepts, and to include the learning of adults, as well as children; they initially defined their task as "the process of involving citizens from the various sectors to participate in the debate over a public policy for civic/citizenship education."1/ In time, the term came to connote an approach which aimed at an integration of disparate curricular components within the schools, and collaboration between educators in schools and in the community at large.

The project's first phase featured a national conference in Kansas City, Mo., conducted jointly by the Council of Chief State School Officers and USOE in 1976. An attempt was made to involve educators affiliated with civic groups, business and labor, and other sectors of society. At that conference, economics, politics, law-related education, global perspectives, multiethnic studies, ethics, and family-related education were all identified as elements of citizen education.

The following year a draft report, "Citizen Education Today,"2/ was prepared for the USOE project. It presented major aspects of contemporary citizen education, research results and illustrative programs, as well as recommendations. The report indicated that citizenship could not be confined to local, State, and national contexts, but that it has a global dimension. It suggested that technological advances, the growth of government, and increasing amounts of information have complicated the tasks of citizenship. The report examined how the home, the school, the media, the workplace, voluntary associations, and government contribute to citizen training, and it discussed psychological findings that help explain this process of political socialization. "Citizen Education Today" also presented data indicating that citizens' levels of political and economic knowledge have declined and that many citizens lack the basic skills needed for civic competency.

The project's second phase, begun in the fall of 1977, was designed to probe the meaning of citizen education from a variety of perspectives, to explore several major issues in the field, and to examine secondary agents in citizen education such as the community, the workplace, and the media.

During this phase, the Citizen Education Staff met with hundreds of people at meetings, workshops, and through informal encounters.* We learned more,

*See appendix A for a list of formal workshops and publications.

perhaps, about issues than about answers; and, in our efforts to reach people of diverse views, we discovered a good deal about the varied perceptions concerning our topic. For some, the goals of citizen education have to do with caring about others, and with the concerns of a community toward, for example, its children. Others emphasize "enlighted self-interest"--being knowledgeable about the public sphere in order to promote or defeat certain policies. While some think citizen education should help students gain information about politics and public policy, others stress access and power, believing that until persons can affect the political process, information about political issues will be meaningless. Some argue for a revitalization of political community, while others are convinced that present day institutions and inequities preclude such a positive development.

This publication presents some major issues that cloud the concepts of citizenship and citizen education in order to contribute to a clearer delineation of goals, strategies, and needs. In conducting our study, there are many areas that we have had to treat hastily or omit altogether. While our study was not comprehensive, we have tried to cover significant and representative issues and activities. In that process, we sought to solicit different points of view and to gather information from as broad a cross section of citizens as possible. We hope that the result is a report which provides some new information, imposes additional order on previously reported data, and reveals some of the buried assumptions and value judgments which underlie current citizen education activities.

This publication represents the final report of the USOE citizen education project. Other publications produced by the project may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office and are listed in appendix A.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The study which follows evolved from the work and thought of many people. We would like to express our appreciation to all those who contributed to the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) citizen education project.

Many ideas were first developed for USOE by an advisory group whose meetings resulted in "Citizen Education Today," a report prepared in 1977. Richard Remy's contribution to that work provided a rich resource for the overall structure of our study. Other chapters of "Citizen Education Today" were written by Stephen McCurley, Howard Mehlinger, John Patrick, and Judith Torney, under the auspices of the National Center for Voluntary Action. Their data and analysis provided an invaluable aid to our project.

"Citizen Education Today" was reviewed by educators, civic leaders, and the general public. We would like to express special gratitude to the more than 100 reviewers who responded with extensive comments. We based much of our work on their insightful and articulate observations, and have been enriched by the extent to which they shared their experiences and knowledge with us.

In 1977-78, a series of monographs and workshops enabled us to explore additional dimensions of citizen education. The experience was provocative and rewarding. We are grateful to each of the participants and staff members, and particularly to project directors and writers Carol Gibson, Willis Harman, David Johnston, Ruth Jones, F. Gerald Kline, John MacKenzie, Larry Rothstein, Robert Salisbury, Ronald Searcy, Nea Toner, Mary Jane Turner, and Nancy Wyner.

In preparing the final draft of this report, significant contributions came from Richard Dawson, Edward Meade, LeAnn Meyer, Barbara Presseisen, and

Karen Wiley. We appreciate their time and thought. Finally, gratitude goes to Logan Sallada who initiated the project and lent encouragement throughout, to Ann Maust who provided an indispensable balance to our staff discussions, and to editor Larry Rothstein for his commitment to substance as well as form.

September 1979

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CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS THE NEED?

> On the one hand, it's a different world and today's citizen is faced with moral and technical questions and problems that never occurred to our parents and to their parents. On the other hand, the important questions of democratic citizenship, the ones with which we must come to grips, are older than Democracy itself. We live with computers and space travel, and we still must probe the nature of the just society, the good person . . . the happy life. --Michael Hartoonian, in a letter to the Citizen Education Staff, USOE, 1978.

At the heart of the American concept of democracy is the belief that citizens must, to some degree, participate in the governance of society. Without individuals who are willing to perform the basic duties of citizenship--vote, formulate and express opinions, pay taxes, uphold the law, serve as jurors, defend the country--democratic processes cannot operate. The exercise of citizenship is also viewed as a privilege and as an opportunity for personal development. Many believe that the chance to seek justice and dignity for oneself and others, and the ability to comprehend the relationship between self and society are necessary for individual growth.

Citizen education involves the development of knowledge, skills, and attitudes requisite to responsible and effective participation in civic life. Civic competencies prepare citizens to cope with an imperfect world in which they must attempt to resolve shifting tensions between self-interest and community values, between short-term aims and long-term consequences, and in which they must act effectively and rationally to promote desired goals within a context of democratic processes and principles.

The exercise of citizenship is an integral part of daily life. With the growth of the public sector, citizens are frequently confronted by situations in which public policy constrains or expands personal opportunity. The need for civic competencies is readily apparent when citizens, moved to become active participants, seek the ability to gain access to information, make judgments about conflicting positions, or join in political processes with confidence and knowledge. Tenants, for example, who do not know what their rights are cannot easily affect their living conditions. Working parents who do not know whether day-care facilities exist, or how to advocate their establishment, lack the option of day care. Citizens who serve on advisory councils to government agencies will not be effective unless they know what services are available to their community and unless they possess the skills of group participation and advocacy.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss how the concept of democratic citizenship has evolved, present some characteristics of contemporary society which complicate the exercise of citizenship, and then move on to a description of citizen education in the United States--its history, evolution, core elements, and tensions. Running throughout the chapter is the notion that values and philosophy color one's image of citizenship (and therefore the goals of citizen education). This may be seen most particularly with respect to the proper balance between the satisfaction of individual freedom and the exercise of community responsibility.

DIVERSE VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

> Civic education emanates from an ethical base--civic responsibility is a moral value. Recognizing the ethical element in citizen education would require a revolution in the way we think about it.--John Osmond, in a

letter to the Citizen Education Staff, USOE, 1978.

Approaches to citizen education rest on an understanding of the concept of citizenship. Citizenship traditionally has been defined in terms of the relationship between the individual and the state. The focus is upon public concerns--factors that affect the people as a whole, or at least significant groups of people. Many different concepts of citizenship have been proposed and discussed. All of them have been molded by interpretations of human nature, by historical events, and by the social and economic order.

The concept of democratic citizenship can be traced back to the classical Greeks. The early Greeks believed that uniquely human capacities could be completely developed only through full participation in the political community of the city-state. Aristotle argued that outside of the polis man must be either beast or god; human capacities could not be developed apart from political community. The Greek notion of citizenship required direct participation of citizens in deliberations on public issues. The status of citizen in the early Greek polis was limited to the few who possessed the economic means and the leisure to devote their attention to public matters. The classical Greek concept of citizenship emphasized the predominance of public obligations over the pursuit of private interests.

The liberal view of democratic citizenship which developed in the 17th and 18th centuries was fundamentally different from that of the Greeks. The pursuit of private interests with as little interference as possible from government was seen as the road to human happiness and progress. Public obligations and involvement in the collective community were not given the importance they had in the Greek concept. Freedom was not to be realized through immersion in the collective life of the political community but

rather by limiting the scope of governmental activity and political obligation. The basic participatory role of the citizen was to select governmental leaders and keep the powers and scope of public authority in check. The rights of the citizen against the state were given particular emphasis.

Over time the liberal democratic notion of citizenship developed in two directions. First, a movement to increase the proportion of members of the society who were eligible to participate as citizens--especially through extending the right of suffrage--and to ensure the basic political equality of all citizens was begun. Second, there was a broadening of the legitimate activities of government and a use of governmental power to redress imbalances in social and economic life. Political citizenship became an instrument through which groups and classes with sufficient numbers of votes could use the state power to enhance their social and economic well-being.

Within the general liberal view of democratic citizenship, tensions have developed over the degree to which government can and should be used as an instrument for promoting happiness and well-being. Political philosopher Martin Diamond has categorized two views of democracy as follows. On the one hand, there is the "libertarian" perspective which stresses the private pursuit of happiness and emphasizes the necessity for restraint on government and protection of individual liberties. On the other hand, there is the "majoritarian" view that emphasizes "the task of government to uplift and aid the common man against the malefactors of great wealth."3/ The tensions between these two views are very evident today. Taxpayer revolts and calls for smaller government and less government regulations clash with advocation of greater government involvement in the economic marketplace and the social sphere.

One of the strongest critiques of the liberal democratic view of citizenship has come from the Marxists. They argue that the formal institutional arrangements for the exercise of citizenship (which

proponents of liberal democracy believe serve to insure that the "voice of the people" will be heard and followed), in fact, only conceal and legitimate the rule of a few propertied interests. Some contemporary Marxists seem to echo the Greek ideas of developing human potential through full direct interaction on matters of collective concern.4/ These Marxists, however, in contrast to the early Greeks, see the possibility of such participation extended to all humankind. They would argue that technological development has made it possible to free people from necessary labor, giving to all the leisure that only a few of the Greeks possessed.

In the United States, the notion of citizenship has been heavily influenced by the early liberal democratic theorists, especially John Locke. America, more than other Western democracies, has placed emphasis upon maintaining the private sphere and on the protection of individual rights and liberties from governmental interference.

> The Federalist Papers explicitly use the Lockian tradition to construct a political order dedicated to the satisfaction of special interests. . . . To be sure, the Constitution insists upon equality. But it is a special form of equality. Because each individual best understands his or her own self-interest, equal political power (the vote) is necessary to protect and promote that self-interest. . . . To each individual is granted the equal right to pursue a self-interested vision.5/

Over the past two centuries in the United States, notions concerning the proper scope and power of the government, the relationship between government and citizen, and the scope, objectives, and arenas of citizen participation have changed greatly in both theory and practice. The tension between the two perspectives on liberal democracy noted by Diamond

remain.* These tensions are part of the background of many contemporary issues and conflicts.

In both theory and practice citizenship has taken a variety of forms. The roles, rights, and obligations of citizenship have been interpreted in a number of different ways. How one interprets citizenship has important consequences for one's understanding of citizen education.

THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP

> I realize that most youngsters in the city haven't the foggiest notion of what the elected people in the city do or how they get elected or why they run . . . because I think to most adults politics is something sort of dirty and . . . if not dirty then at least nor particularly interesting. . . .
> --City Councilman, in Nancy B. Wyner, "The Cambridge Study: Involving Citizens in Defining Citizen Education," p. 26.

In the last 15 years, the exercise of citizenship in the United States can be characterized by two major tendencies in political participation. One is

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*Some political thinkers have argued in recent years that a new ideological view is emerging, one that combines elements of both views and builds on the Greek notion of personhood achieved through collaboration on common concerns. Rather than a focus on individualism, property rights, competition, specialization, and the limited state, this view posits a society built on a concern for community rights and needs, with the state as planner and coordinator, and citizens actively involved in determining the balance between competing interests and the achievement of a holistic society.6/

an increase in citizen involvement in public and civic concerns; the other is a decline in traditional forms of political activity and support. Each has been spurred by dissatisfaction with present social and economic conditions.

Almost all new, major Federal legislative programs contain citizen-participation requirements and many programs have been amended to include provisions for citizen participation. The interest at the State and local levels has also been widespread. More than half of the States have some mechanism or special office to coordinate citizen-involvement activities.7/ A survey of Federal Government programs indicates that out of 226 public-participation programs, 61 percent were created during or after 1970. Furthermore, 87 percent of the programs employing a variety of modes for participation were created during this time.8/

There has also been a dramatic increase in citizen action. Thousands of citizens' groups, primarily established since 1970, have been organized around grassroots, neighborhood, environmental or consumer issues, mental health, senior citizens' concerns, or civic activities. The Alliance for Volunteerism estimates some 6 million voluntary associations exist.9/ A Department of Labor study indicates an 8-percent increase in volunteering between 1967 and 1974.10/ There is potential for even more citizen activity, according to a Gallup survey released in March 1978. Eighty-nine percent of the city dwellers polled expressed willingness to volunteer their time and efforts to help solve neighborhood problems through attending meetings, picketing, writing letters, and the like, with over half stating they had been so involved already.11/

During this same time, however, there has been overall, a decline in interest and involvement with traditional forms of political activity, and a growing distrust of the Government. The number of people voting in elections and claiming allegiance to political parties has fallen. Between 1960 and 1976, the

number of people who "strongly" identify with one of the national political parties has sharply declined, with a corresponding increase in the percent of people calling themselves "Independents."[12] There also has been a significant increase in negative feelings concerning the responsiveness and trustworthiness of American national government (see table 1).

Table 1
Increase in Negative Feelings Toward Government: 1964-74

	1964	1966	1968	1970	1972	1974	Percentage Increase 1964-74
Percent saying Government can be trusted only some or none of the time[a]	22	32	37	45	46	63	+41
Percent saying Government works for benefit of a few interests rather than all of people[b]	30	36	41	55	57	73	+43

Source: Data taken from Survey Research Center National Election Studies and made available through the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research.

[a]"How much of the time do you think that you can trust the Government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or none of the time?"

[b]"Would you say the Government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all people?"

What are the causes of public withdrawal from many forms of political involvement? Explanations are offered at several different levels: specific events which dramatize discrepancies between democratic theory and practice; evolving societal institutions which produce oversized government and an excess of wealth; or deeper historical change--the very nature of modern industrialized society and the constraints it poses for citizenship. One level of explanation concerns recent events such as the political scandals of Watergate and Koreagate, U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the revelations of corporate involvement in the domestic affairs of foreign governments, and the continued difficulties of minority groups and women in achieving full equality. Alienation is thus attributed to the perceived contraditions between democratic theory and practice.

Some analysts suggest that the development of big government is responsible for the withdrawal of citizens. The welfare state, they assert, produces regulation, bureaucracy, and paperwork, and it wastes money on needless social programs better left to the private sector. Under these conditions individual initiative is stifled and the resources necessary for creative action depleted. Further, the Government's difficulty in dealing effectively with such problems as inflation and unemployment has shaken belief in the efficacy of traditional political action.

Others see the problem as resting with values. The workings of the economic system lead to private pursuit of pleasure and self-gratification--labeled by some as the "New Selfishness" or the "Me Generation"13/--at the expense of community activity. As opposed to the 1960's, there seems to be little interest in what John Schaar has called "public liberty"--the power of acting with others to shape the conditions of common life.14/

Some commentators believe that the difficulty of acting for oneself and others results from the very nature of modern industrialized society and its demand for specialization, rationality, and mobility. There is a growing distance between citizens and the institutions designed to serve them. The process of politics has become increasingly specialized; the role of experts is expanding; issues are entangled in worldwide systems; the media are able to elevate public issues to national or international consideration in a short time. As Willis Harman has written:

> Modern society is exceptionally confused about value issues, having put aside the old bases for value commitments and not developed satisfactory replacements. The technical and industrial powers of industrial society and the impersonality of its bureaucracies intimidate and diminish man, impeding development of healthy self-esteem. The bigness of Government and of modern technological organizations increases the difficulty of effective involvement. Urban society, from the inner city to the suburbs, has become ghettoized, so that isolated groups have neither adequate understanding of the needs and desires of other groups nor opportunities to enjoy the full privileges and powers of citizenship. The sheer quantity of available knowledge, the awesome research resources of the experts, and the intimidating complexity of computers and other knowledge processing tools, all conspire to cow the average citizen and to convince him that he cannot understand the important political-technical issues of his times.15/

It is indeed difficult to confront the causes of major social, political, and economic difficulties. Perhaps that is why we often blame the schools for society's problems and ask them to assume responsibility for finding a solution. Yet the schools are

often reactive in nature; they tend to reflect what is happening around them. They are but one element of an entire system of learning that encompasses many institutions within society.

The issue of citizen education is illustrative of this situation. The public schools have a formal and historic mandate to prepare children for citizenship. In a concern with corruption, crime, alienation, and other topics, many of us point to the schools' neglect of citizenship. Declining scores on assessments of civic competency by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and Gallup pollsters are one possible indication of such neglect; school violence and vandalism are another. In trying to assign blame and find a plausible remedy, some citizens suggest that the schools are teaching about citizenship in the wrong way (e.g., we must "return to basics" by reinstating patriotic drills and rituals in class), while others believe the schools have devoted insufficient attention to citizenship.

In examining the role of the schools in citizen education, it is important to bear in mind both the limitations and the potential of schooling. We must remember that opportunities for citizenship within the community at large will affect the motivations and learning of children in schools. We must be certain, therefore, that citizen education programs include opportunities for public dialogs concerning the problems of citizenship within our society. While the schools offer a means for intentionally developing the capacity for responsible citizenship, and can be singularly effective in imparting certain aspects of citizen education, we should not forget that the home, community, media, workplace, and voluntary associations are also partners in that process.

With these caveats in mind, it remains a fact that the schools play a key role in insuring that all

citizens have a minimal understanding of our system of law and government, and in preparing them to evaluate public policies and participate in political processes. The next section will examine the evolution of citizen education in the schools and then discuss some elements of an effective citizen-education program for contemporary times.

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES16/

> Where I was born and brought up . . . I knew the teachers, the teachers knew my parents, we knew police officers . . . we still didn't like them, but we knew them, you know, because that was a community, you couldn't do anything in that community without Mr. So-and-so fifteen miles away knowing your mother and calling up. . . . People cared, people talked. . . . They knew you, they went to church with you, they did everything with you.--Parent and civic activist, from Wyner, op. cit., p. 29.

The basic patterns of citizen education were set early in our history, with variations occurring over time largely in response to societal events. The founders of the Republic believed that schools should teach the essentials of citizenship in order to build a common identity, create a shared history, and inculcate loyalty to the principles of freedom, equality, popular consent, and individual responsibility for the public good.17/

Fifty years later, Horace Mann, in developing the notion of the common school, adhered to the earlier ideas of the Founding Fathers. In the public school, only commonly held values would be taught, those assured of community consensus. Controversial issues, disputed values, would not be discussed:

> . . . when the teacher, in the course of his lessons or lectures on the fundamental law,

> arrives at a controverted text, he is either to read it without comment or remark; or, at most, he is only to say that the passage is the subject of disputation, and that the schoolroom is neither the tribunal to adjudicate nor the forum to discuss it.18/

Mann's view of the content of civic education has been reflected in the curriculum of the schools ever since:

> The Constitution of the United States, and of our own State, should be made a study in our Public Schools. The partition of the powers of government into three co-ordinate branches . . . the mode of electing or of appointing all officers, with the reason on which it was founded; and, especially, the duty of every citizen, in a government of laws, to appeal to the courts for redress, in all cases of alleged wrong, instead of undertaking to vindicate his own rights by his own arm, and, in a government where the people are the acknowledged sources of power, the duty of changing laws and rulers by an appeal to the ballot, and not rebellion, should be taught to all the children until they are fully understood.19/

Over time, societal events and intellectual developments embellished this earlier structure. A few illustrations follow.

In the late 1890's, the rise of America as a world power, signaled by the Spanish-American War, resulted in an emphasis on national loyalty in the curriculum of the schools. This same theme predominated during the two World Wars and the cold war of the 1950's. The massive immigration from southeastern Europe during the turn of the 20th century produced the Americanization movement: many insisted

that immigrants and their children were to be stripped of their old values and customs and provided with new ones through the schools.

In the early 20th century, the Progressives sought to expand the concept of citizenship education first outlined by Horace Mann to include a relevance to societal problems, and to deemphasize national government and politics, elevating in their place the values of community and personal growth. John Dewey characterized democracy as above all a way of living together and participation in group activity as the essence of the democratic experience. He stated that democracy cannot be taught within autocratic institutions, a theme which underlies some current attempts at reform.20/

The Progressives sought to apply the scientific decisionmaking process to solving social probelms. The Depression, New Deal, the rise of totalitarian regimes encouraged a social reformist movement. The Progressives viewed citizen education as preparation for collective social planning and government regulation, greater economic interdependence, and subordination of private interest to the public welfare.

More recently, in the 1960's, a focus on intellectual skills, social science disciplines, and their methods of inquiry placed a different emphasis on the citizen-education curriculum. It was more important, according to this school of thought, to study process than content, and more critical to raise questions than to provide answers. Furthermore, demands for curricular electives and dissatisfaction with traditional civics couses spurred the development of numerous alternatives.

In many ways, current approaches to citizen education attempt to counteract the perceived shortcomings of traditional civics courses. Proponents of multicultural education, for example, view Americanization as the right to maintain (or ignore) individual

ethnic culture, the need to remove societal obstacles to individual opportunity based on ethnic or racial background, as well as the need to ascribe to the values of the common culture. Multicultural education theorists believe that enforced renunciation of cultural heritage is tantamount to rejection of self and has negative psychological effects. They argue that cultural diversity in the context of American democratic values provides a basis for societal stability and strength.21/ A multicultural school curriculum, then, would be responsive to the cultural contributions, experiences, and needs of all Americans with particular emphasis on those who have been impeded from full exercise of the rights and opportunities of citizenship.

Whereas traditional civics had stressed cultural homogeneity and national allegiance, more recent awareness of international interdependence has produced a concern with the global context of citizen education:

> In recent decades world interdependencies affecting all Americans have gone far beyond hereditary and cultural ties, or traditional diplomatic negotiations and distant military confrontations, and have become operationally immediate. They affect the purity of our air and water; the heat in our homes and offices; the price of sugar, coffee, and gasoline . . . the size of our armed forces . . . the levels of employment and inflation; the tranquility of our spirits; and the image of reality of our future.22/

The increasing flow of people, goods, and information across national boundaries implies that each of us is becoming a participant in a transnational social order. This realization places new demands on the citizen education curriculum, suggesting that local and national issues cannot be considered apart

from their global context and that many actions taken by persons, organizations, and nations throughout the world have an aggregate impact on the choices of citizens everywhere. Some analysts maintain that the key issue for citizen education in the future is how all nations will assume a just, participatory role in a world system based on equity.23/

Finally, events such as Watergate and Vietnam, conditions of vandalism and crime in the schools, as well as developments in theory and research have also affected the emphasis in citizen education. Moral development has become a serious concern of some educators. Law-related education has grown in response to demands for a relevant civics which prepares for citizenship in an increasingly legalistic society. The ideas of John Dewey as well as a legacy of activism from the 1960's have drawn attention to participation and democratic governance within the school structure and in the greater community. With the expansion of government and public interest groups have also come such additions to the curriculum as environmental education and consumer education, each of which contains an emphasis on citizen rights and empowerment.

In addition, theories of cognitive development suggest that there is a need to identify those elements of a child's world which may be precursors of political learning. These theories have produced renewed interest in the social and moral dimensions of citizen education. Elementary school programs focusing on social development and group governance and management are beginning to emerge, in consideration of the fact that traditional notions of citizenship relate exclusively to the adult political world, and lack relevance to daily lives of young children.

WHAT IS CITIZEN EDUCATION TODAY?

> In the third grade I got a citizenship award. They were awarded every semester

> in each grade. One to a boy and one to a girl. I thought then that this was a special thing. . . . I never knew exactly why I got this reward, and as I grew older, I felt it was because I was an orderly, neat, nonagitative, approval-seeking child. I seemed to express these qualities that said I would fit in, accept authority, and obey rules. The dilemma of citizenship now is that the most useful, creative, important citizens don't always obey the rules and, in fact, they work to change them, so why did they give me an award for obeying rules?--Television producer in Wyner, op. cit., appendix, p. 2.

If the scope of citizen education was once narrow and restricted, the danger now exists that it may have been overextended. Its meaning may have become too broad, too elastic. But if traditional definitions and practices are inadequate, what boundaries can we set? Is all education revelant? What is not citizen education? A search for answers to these questions led the USOE Citizen Education Staff to look for core elements of citizenship and to try to define other components in relation to these elements.

Historically, citizenship has been integrally related to the concept of public authority and to the political processes and moral principles that govern relationships between citizens and government. In the United States, we view such relationships in the light of democratic values, among them liberty, justice, equality, and human dignity. The primary goals of citizen education programs evolve from these notions. Citizen education aims at providing learning opportunities for gaining the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experience requisite to effective, responsible citizenship. Such opportunities vary according to the needs and experiences of learners.

They should respond to both the key issues of citizenship in a changing world and to the characteristics of diverse learners who include adult U.S. citizens, resident aliens whose lives are affected by laws, public policies, and political processes, as well as children of all ages who are in the process of becoming citizens.

Political Learning

A growing knowledge of the process of citizen development shows us that political socialization proceeds in diverse and complex ways.24/ Educational activities and programs in many different settings (e.g., home, school, workplace, voluntary associations, media) may provide opportunities for citizen education. Some learning experiences are directly related to political learning. Explicit political learning occurs when individuals imitate the political views of those important to them ("role models" such as parents or teachers), anticipate adult political behavior (running a campaign for student council office), or learn about government and politics through formal instruction (taking a civics course) or through actual political experience (joining a public interest group).

Indirect learning involves a more complex process. Although initially it does not focus on civic or political content, indirect learning may later be transferred to political objects. This occurs, for example, when children transfer their positive or negative images of parental authority to political figures; or through the transference of general participatory and leadership skills--learned in school, within a social group, or on the job--to political attitudes or situations. Research has not documented under what circumstances such "indirect" learning is transferred to the public domain. Personality, levels of political interest or attitudes, opportunities, and other factors all affect the

individual's political behavior. Their influence is discussed in chapter 2.

Each of the aforementioned examples suggests different possibilities for citizen education. They can help us determine the most appropriate strategies for different ages and learning styles.

Citizen Development: Prerequisites and Content

In the process of elaborating the core elements of citizen education, the USOE Citizen Education Staff identified certain attributes that appear highly related to civic competencies and also to general social and intellectual development. The staff called them prerequisities. They are not necessarily or exclusively taught in citizen education programs, although they are likely to influence the success of such undertakings and may be enhanced by them. They are attributes and skills of individuals, learned both formally and informally throughout life. These prerequisites include:

(1) the individual's sense of self-esteem;

(2) an ability to assume the perspective of others; and

(3) the skills necessary for communication and thought.

Many theories of personality emphasize the importance of self-esteem. Without a sense of personal worth, individuals lack the belief that they are capable and able to act to change themselves and their surroundings.25/ The concept of political efficacy is the political equivalent of self-esteem. Political efficacy, the feeling that the individual can make a difference with respect to politics, seems to be an important psychological factor in political participation.26/ The individual's belief that he or she can effectively produce some changes in the

political realm may determine the effort and persistence which will be invested, and whether political action will be undertaken. The reverse is also likely: a successful experience as a political participant may bolster self-esteem in relation to politics.

Perspective-taking--the ability to see a situation from the view of another person or group--is another prerequisite for an understanding of government and society and a willingness to act in the public interest. Perspective-taking is seen also as an important factor in understanding persons from other cultures and nations. Rudimentary perspective-taking abilities characterize children as young as 4 years of age, who can usually identify situations which evoke happy feelings. In middle childhood, children have the potential for identifying the emotions of people unlike themselves, and viewing a social episode from the view of each participant before coordinating the various perspectives.27/

Basic skills in communicating and thinking are also prerequisities of civic competence. These are learned both within and outside formal citizen education programs. Effective skills in reading, writing, listening, and speaking are vital for active citizenship. Without such competencies, individuals are severely limited in their ability to gather information, hear contending points of view, articulate their own opinions and ideas, or participate in group activities. At the same time, the active, reflective citizen must also possess the ability to think critically, organize information, generate and evaluate alternatives, make decisions, and resolve problems. While formal citizen education courses may devote considerable time to these activities, intellectual development is the task of the entire school, and one which all educators share.

Table 2 depicts three particularly important elements of citizenship that contribute to the development of civic competencies. It further shows a sampling of pertinent knowledge, skills, and attitudinal objectives related to these dimensions. The focus is on direct learning in the public arena although indirect learning in private settings may have an important impact. The three areas identified include: (1) rights and responsibilities (and their underlying principles and values); (2) public issues; and (3) participation, both for personal development and to influence public policy. These are areas common to many citizen education programs and cut across curricular divisions. Competencies ranging from the most specific to abstract could be developed for each area.

The first area represents a dynamic notion of law and government--one that responds to human needs and societal developments and has at its core a respect for human dignity and the social order. A major purpose is to understand the political system and to develop commitment to democratic principles. Students would learn the evolution and purpose of rules and laws, their limitations and their grounding in principles of fairness, and their importance in the lives of people throughout the world. Courses in government, history, political science, anthropology, global studies, moral reasoning, and law-related education might all be relevant in teaching this area.

Although few citizens are expected to become experts on politics, all citizens should have some knowledge of what the major political issues are, the interdependence of these issues, and an understanding of the policymaking process. Further, citizens should have the skills for collecting, processing, and evaluating data; for conducting investigations to locate additional information when what exists appears biased or unintelligible;

TABLE 2: SOME REPRESENTATIVE OBJECTIVES*

MAJOR ELEMENTS OF CITIZENSHIP	KNOWLEDGE	SKILLS	ATTITUDES
1. Rights and Responsibilities	Systems of law and government Principles and values underlying them Relationship to human needs and cultural change Governance	Analysis Conflict resolution Ethical reasoning	Valuing democratic principles: Freedom, equality, justice, human rights and dignity, majority rule, minority rights
2. Public issues	Political/economic/social systems and their interrelationships Issues of local, State, national, and international concern Global interdependence Public policy-making process Growth of public sector	Data-gathering (or generating) Information processing and interpreting Problem definition and solution Evaluating future consequences of policy alternatives	Valuing democratic principles Perspective taking
3. Participation for personal development and to achieve specific objectives	Group processes Political and interest groups Structure and function of public institutions and their points of access Modes of participation and how they evolve	Decisionmaking Negotiating with public authorities Working with a group Effective interpersonal communication	Valuing democratic principles Perspective taking Self-esteem and efficacy Sense of personal identification and belonging Responsibility and concern for the group as a whole

*Some attributes listed here are not the sole responsibility of either citizen education classes or the schools. They are learned in a variety of settings, but, like basic communications skills, are vital to effective citizenship.

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for defining problems and selecting alternative solutions; and for evaluating the future consequences of policy alternatives. Instruction about public issues should have at its core an understanding of the impact of such issues on oneself and others, a sense of the relationship of issues to principles and values, and an ability to project the potential consequences of policy alternatives.

These objectives may sound highly complicated, but they need not be. They can exist at many levels of abstraction. For example, students can begin with a concrete issue--a stoplight at a school crossing. At higher levels of sophistication, they might try to deal with an environmental dispute or a desegregation plan. They can learn to locate and examine the facts, probe the values that are involved in the issue, and explore the impact of various alternatives on themselves and on others. They can establish their own criteria and judge each alternative accordingly.

Under the third area of citizen education, students learn how to become thoughtful and effective participants in the public domain. Their participation may have two purposes: personal development --internalizing democratic principles and building a sense of political efficacy--and political advocacy to obtain goals for themselves and others or to show support for a particular position, policy, or candidate.

To become a potentially competent participant in the political process, citizens need to know: (1) how policy is made and by whom, (2) the points of access, (3) the role of interest groups, and (4) the wide range of options for participation. They must also possess an ability to communicate, to work within a group, and to negotiate with authorities. Attitudes such as self-esteem, the ability to understand the perspectives of others, a sense of

belonging, and a feeling of responsibility to the group as a whole are important attributes of the participating citizen.

Although we believe that these three elements are critical to any citizen education program, they are not intended to foreclose discussion about the process or content of citizen education. Furthermore, they require creative application in order to meet diverse student needs. Age, cognitive and social development, and experience must be taken into account in order to develop meaningful citizen education programs.

TENSIONS AND DILEMMAS

While it is important to define clearly the substance of citizen education, the goals of such programs remain subject to differing interpretations. Diverse concepts of the relationship between government and citizen, tensions between notions of individual rights and community responsibility, and differences over supporting or reforming government must be considered by those planning and implementing citizen education programs. Indeed, inherent in this topic are tensions and problems that require thought and sensitivity.

Following are four examples:

First, how does the educator reconcile the apparent contradiction between teaching national patriotism and teaching independent, evaluative thinking? Both are necessary in order to insure preservation and improvement of our system of government, yet the independent thinker may challenge the basic assumptions of our political system.28/

> If we free them [youth], they may threaten the whole state of our society which is the State itself. By the inexorable logic of things,

> then, the State must oppose full freedom of education. The full tragedy of the paradox is that this is the only way that the State, as it now stands, can be saved; but in order for the State, as it now stands, to be saved, it must consent to give itself freely over to be changed. A bitter problem, that is rooted at the very core of the human condition: the very thing that man fears most is the thing he most needs: the unexpected repercussions of the free creative energies of his fellow.29/

The encouragement of independent thinking is essential to citizen education in a democracy. According to a 10-nation study of civic education, the use of printed drill in class and stress on factual aspects or partiotic rituals have "a counter-productive effect in civic education."30/ The same study reports that the "more knowledgeable, less authoritarian, and more interested students came from schools where they were encouraged to have free discussion and to express their opinion in class."31/ In the words of one civic education proponent, education should "promote commitment to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the Constitution, even while encouraging the widest possible debate on how they might be applied."32/

A second tension arises from differing definitions of "acceptable" participation.33/ Citizen participation can take many forms, and some methods that were deemed unacceptable in the early 1960's are now considered conventional. The majority of the public, however, continues to oppose "unconventional" participation. Yet, if contemporary citizen education in the schools addresses all modes of nonviolent dissent, including such activities as sit-ins, picketing, and marches, negative ramifications might be forthcoming from the larger community.

A third problem inherent in citizen education derives from the potential tensions between individual beliefs and the goals of the group.34/ Citizen education programs must strive to create a balance between individual and group needs, teaching both self-esteem and sensitivity to others. Achieving this balance may present particular difficulties in the United States where an emphasis on individualism means that "very few people are well-equipped to handle the tensions that arise by interacting in groups."35/

A fourth problem inherent in citizen education involves numerous political systemic factors which lie outside the direct influence of education. Systemic constraints might include the citizen's access to (1) full information; and (2) structures that permit effective participation. In other words, the receptiveness of public authorities to increased citizen interest, skills, and involvement might limit the range of possibilities for even the most competent citizens. If public agencies provide only sketchy or highly technical information; if that information is available only from limited sources; if the mechanisms through which citizens can influence their public agencies are few, or closed to all but the most influential--then citizens may be frustrated in their efforts. While a purpose of citizen education should be to assess whether the system is receptive to citizen involvement, citizen education may not directly be able to affect systemic considerations.

Citizen education, then represents a process for dealing thoughtfully with an imperfect world, considering how it might be made better, learning to resolve the conflicts between self-interest and community good and between the values of efficiency and equality.36/ It provides a way for attempting to lessen the gap between our ideals and our reality and to examine the adequacy of old formulas for changing societal conditions.

The remainder of this report will discuss what we know about existing levels of civic competency, present a sampling of programs representative of the diverse aspects of citizen education, discuss national efforts and critical needs in this area, and make a series of recommendations designed to improve citizen education. These recommendations relate to major areas of need: to reestablish citizen education as a basic goal of schooling, to broaden the constituency it serves, to meet training and research needs, to improve the quality of citizen participation, to coordinate school and community resources, to expand media programing, and to bridge the gap between citizens and "specialists." Much of the data leading to the identification of these needs are presented in chapter 2.

NOTES

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14 John H. Schaar, "The Case for Patriotism" in Perspectives on Citizen Education, Paul R. Levy (ed.), Philadelphia, Pa.: Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1977, p. 42.

15 Willis W. Harman, "Citizen Education and the Future," Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1978, p. 5.

16 It is not the purpose of this section to provide a chronicle of citizenship education, but rather to elucidate through selected examples its relationship to social and political history. Some accounts of this history are found in R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Civic Education in the United States," in Education for Responsible Citizenship, New York: McGraw Hill, 1977, pp. 47-69; and R. Freeman Butts, C. Karier, M. Lazerson, "History of Citizen Education: Colloquium Paper," Philadelphia, Pa.: Research for Better Schools, 1979. An analysis of American history textbooks is available in Frances FitzGerald's "Onward and Upward With the Arts--Rewriting American History," the New Yorker, Feb. 26, 1979, pp 41-77; Mar. 5, 1979, pp. 40-91; and Mar. 12, 1979, pp. 48-106.

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18 Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men," New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1957, p. 93.

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20 Ralph L. Mosher, "A Democratic High School: Damn It, Your Feet Are Always in the Water," in Value Development . . . As the Aim of Education, Norman A. Sprinthall and Ralph L. Mosher (eds.), Schenectady, N.Y.: Character Research Press, 1978, pp. 74-84.

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28 John J. Patrick, "Goals in Political Education," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 1977, pp. 1-9.

29 Ernest Becker, "Beyond Alienation," New York: George Braziller, 1967, pp. 38-39.

30 Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and Russell F. Farnen, "Civic Education in Ten Countries," New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975, p. 19.

31 Torney et al., op. cit., p. 18.

32 Edward Schwartz, "Adult Political Education in the Anti-Political System," Perspectives on Citizen Education, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

33 John J. Patrick, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

34 Judith Gillespie, letter to the USOE Citizen Education Staff commenting on the draft report, "Citizen Education Today," Winter 1977.

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CHAPTER 2

ASSESSING CIVIC COMPETENCE*

Efforts to improve citizen education must include an assessment of the current research. Without this, accurate and effective changes are difficult to propose.

Research about citizen development is incomplete. More is documented about what people know than about how they obtain knowledge. More information exists about how people feel about politics than about how they act politically. More is known about individual than group political orientations. The school's role has been studied more than the media's role. The relationship of specific stimuli to citizen development is better understood than the causes of such relationships.

In this assessment, an examination will be made of patterns of political learning among American children, adolescents, and adults.** It will look at the effects of such differences on socialization patterns; and it will focus on such factors as social class, racial and ethnic identifications, gender, religion, and voluntary group affiliations which seem to have relevance for citizen development.

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*Essays by John J. Patrick and Ruth S. Jones made major contributions to this chapter.

**This review somewhat arbitrarily categorizes research findings into childhood, adolescent, and adult development. Within each age grouping, it discusses what is known about knowledge, attitudes, skills, and experiences related to citizen education. These categories are not discrete and the reader should be aware of the underlying age-related continuum which structures most of the research.

The organization of this chapter reflects the importance of two major approaches to learning: cognitive development and social learning. The treatment of citizen education on an age-related continuum implies a cognitive developmental view. This theory proposes that learning progresses logically from specific to abstract, through a process of interaction between the individual's cognitive capacity and his or her environment.1/ But the discussion of factors which affect age-related tendencies (e.g., social class, gender, ethnicity) later in the chapter underlines the importance of experience, and also of socialization and modeling--the process through which we transmit our expectations for our children, and the tendency of individuals to imitate or internalize the behavior and attitudes of those important to them.2/

Most of the research findings presented here are derived from national surveys of civic competence. They have been selected because of their nationwide scope and because they provide a basis for examining citizen development over time. These include the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)* for students and several public opinion polls for adults. Most of these studies assess levels of political information: they ask students and adults about their knowledge of and attitudes toward government and politics; they stress national issues rather than State, local, or international ones.

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*The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) seeks to measure changes in educational attainment over time. NAEP has conducted two national surveys on the status of citizenship education for Americans, ages 9, 13, and 17. "Citizenship" was first measured by NAEP in 1969-70; "social studies" was initially assessed in 1971-72. The most recent assessment, 1975-76, included citizenship and social studies.

While this information is useful, other kinds of data also are needed in assessments of civic competence. For example, the young child's knowledge of government and public policy is likely to be fragmentary and highly impressionistic. In addition to asking children about political party preferences, for example, relevant questions might concern their developing understanding of fairness, authority, or sharing. While nationwide studies have not yet examined such prerequisites of civic competence, research into the social perceptions of young children is growing.3/ Further research is needed to help determine how, to what extent, or under what circumstances, such concepts are transferred to the political domain.

CITIZEN DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDHOOD

Citizen education in early childhood involves the establishment of a basic context within which the future "citizen" will develop. This includes very general information and orientations about the sociopolitical system in which children live and basic skills needed to interact successfully with this environment. The breadth of learning experience and exposure to a variety of socializing agents is very limited for the young child but expands considerably with age. The sources of citizen education for the preadolescent are primarily the family, the electronic media, and the school.

Civic competence appears linked to general intellectual development. This includes a tendency to progress from the concrete to the abstract. Joseph Adelson and several associates have done cross-national studies of students' thinking ability in grades 4 through 12. They have found that prior to age 11, most youngsters cannot comprehend highly abstract political concepts such as government, society, democracy, or freedom. They focus on the tangible and the concrete and tend to personalize

institutions and events.4/ As an example of this tendency, some children are able to name their State but do not understand its relationship to the country in which they live, to feel positive toward "democracy" but not be able to define it, to view the president as kindly and wise but not know that he is elected.

Very early in life, children develop a modest awareness that they are members of a community beyond that of the family.5/ Four-year-olds perceive and relate to citizen roles in terms of authority figures, rules of behavior, and concepts of rights and obligations.6/ Eight-year-olds can identify the general functions of government but cannot distinguish how or by whom these functions are performed.7/

What Do Children Know?

The results of a major study of political socialization show that, in general, 9-year-olds tend to (1) have an exaggerated belief in the power of an individual to influence public policy; (2) overestimate the utility of voting as a means of influencing government; (3) overlook the value of orderly conflict and competition as a fundamental facet of our political process; and (4) be ignorant of how one can influence public policy decisions.8/

The few studies of the preadolescent's capabilities in economics, history, or geography indicate low levels of knowledge. The NAEP social studies survey showed that only 58 percent of 9-year-olds knew that England lost the American Revolution. Far fewer knew that England had an impact on the American heritage (40 percent), and still less (32 percent) could identify the impact of Spain or Mexico on the United States. Other data show only a rudimentary understanding of basic economic principles and specific economic information in adolescent years.9/ Yet almost all youngsters have an awareness of the

inequality of resource distribution in the United States (e.g., NAEP reports 92 percent know that not every family can afford to send children to college).10/

What Are the Attitudes of Children?

Children identify with the traditional symbols and rituals of their country and many even profess to relate to a particular political party. Young Americans revere the role of the President, feel that political leaders generally are benevolent, accept the authority of government as legitimate and just, and venerate patriotic symbols.11/

They are curious about what is happening in America and about peoples in other lands. Children, however, tend to evaluate other countries in terms of American values: The more people and governments are perceived as being similar to ours, the more positive children evaluate them.12/

Fourth-grade children have definite expectations about what government ought to do and rather clear but simplistic evaluations of how it is performing.13/ In these early years, children stress the negative, coercive function of law and the value of strict obedience. They see themselves as relatively powerless against authorities and tend to attribute positive personal qualities to legal institutions.14/

What Skills Do Children Possess?

NAEP studies indicate that 9-year-olds have rudimentary competency in seeking and using relevant information and ideas. A majority, for example, knows how to obtain help from the fire department if necessary and is familiar with ways of obtaining factual information about social and political events.15/

The school, as a parapolitical system, provides opportunities to develop participation skills for preadolescents. NAEP reports that more than half of the 9-year-olds surveyed could suggest how they would go about trying to change an unfair classroom rule and three-fourths indicate a willingness to participate in one of five specific classroom decisionmaking situations (although only 42 percent would get involved in all five).16/

In sum, by the time a child reaches adolescence, he or she is aware of: the social, economic, and political dimensions of the environment; has definite attitudes and evaluations about key people, procedures, policies, and symbols fundamental to the society; and is rapidly developing skills for processing and refining more information and more sophisticated perceptions.

CITIZEN DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

Political maturity involves the ability to think at abstract levels. It may be viewed as including such specific elements as a comprehension of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, the ability to evaluate public policies and issues, and the skills of participation. These capacities begin to be visible in late childhood.17/ Adelson places the more extensive increase in capacity for political learning at between ages 11 and 13.18/

Increased capacity for high level political thinking and for citizen role-taking does not insure its occurrence. Little information exists about adolescents' skills as thinker-of-the-political, but what is available suggests that few adolescents think about political ideas at abstract levels.19/ Yet, NAEP data indicate that some development along these lines is taking place. The responses to four informational questions used to form a specific-to-abstract

continuum indicate that the most abstract question, "What is meant by a democracy?" evokes the fewest acceptable responses at all age levels and the question which requires the most direct answer, "Where does the money to build schools and highways from from?" evokes the most accurate responses.

What Do Adolescents Know?

There are significant deficiencies in the American adolescent's knowledge of government, economics, and history. NAEP scores between 1969-70 and 1976 show significant declines in recognition of government officials, and knowledge of the structure and function of government. By age 17, most adolescents have a general grasp of specific facts about the American electoral system and are aware of what one should do before voting. Fewer than half, however, understand the reasons for various features of the system. Between 1972 and 1976, the percentage of students who know how to get information before voting increased, but declined on all other measures related to the electoral process.20/ A study of secondary school students by the Joint Council on Economic Education indicates a serious lack of economic understanding among adolescents.21/

Students' knowledge of American history is somewhat greater than their knowledge of economics or politics. Given the emphasis on history in our schools, however, the level of information is quite low. Two New York Times surveys indicate the seriousness of the problem. In 1943, the Times, in association with eminent American historians, tested 7,000 college freshmen on their knowledge of U.S. history. They found "striking ignorance of even the most elementary aspects."22/ A similar survey was conducted in 1976. This time the respondents were a national sample involving 1,856 freshmen enrolled in 194 colleges. The results were similar to the 1943 study. Students achieved an average score of 56 percent on

knowledge recall questions and 42 percent on items requiring conceptual understanding and analysis.23/

Although interpretation of these results varies greatly, it is important to note that these respondents only included college freshmen. A more representative group probably would have had much lower scores. In general, then, adolescents seem to lack an understanding of American history.

What Are the Attitudes of Adolescents?

During adolescence, the community and political identification developed in early childhood is refined and expanded. A sense of pride, responsibility, and obligation grows, and support for political institutions and processes evolves. Perceptions of political leaders and governmental power become more realistic and distinctions are made between an office and the person holding that office. In the midst of the publicity surrounding Watergate in 1973, there are indications that the negative judgments of 7th graders were directed toward the performance of the incumbent President and not the presidency itself.24/

In 1975-76, approximately two-thirds of the 13-year-olds and three-fourths of the 17-year-olds responded accurately to NAEP questions on constitutional rights. (NAEP distinguishes between knowing a right exists (factual) and believing it should exist (normative value).) During both assessments, valuing constitutional rights lagged behind knowledge of rights. Valuing appears, however, to depend on which rights (e.g., religion or expression) are being considered. On the whole, students' total performance level was slightly less positive in 1975-76 than just a few years earlier.25/

There were definite gains in some areas: 18 percent more 13-year-olds now know why laws are

necessary; 17-year-olds improved markedly on items related to racial understanding and acceptance. Compared to citizens of the 1950's and 1960's, today's adolescents are much less likely to express blatant racial or ethnic prejudice in their responses to social attitude questions.26/ In 1975-76, a series of 12 measures dealing with respect for others (e.g., supporting their rights, believing in equality of treatment and upholding a rule of law) showed that adolescents in general were less "respecting" than on the earlier assessment. Even then, however, half of the 13-year-olds and 60 percent of the 17-year-olds supported all 12 rights measures.27/

Studies of political cynicism among adolescents suggest that 13-year-olds are less cynical than 17-year-olds and that the almost universally positive orientations toward politics found in early childhood decline differentially among groups of teenagers. Schwartz found that political cynicism in the very young is related to a generally negative outlook on life (high personal cynicism, pessimism, low political and personal efficacy) and that cynical eighth graders are less likely to express an intention to vote or become involved in a political party.28/

Students' interest in international affairs waned during the early 1970's as did their ability to deal with factual information related to global issues and institutions. The noticeable exception to the general decline (perhaps as a result of Vietnam) was considerable improvement in the ability of 13- and 17-year-olds to identify ways to avoid future wars.29/ In a multinational survey of civic education, 14-year-old students in the United States ranked second out of eight countries in their knowledge of domestic political institutions and processes, but seventh out of eight in their knowledge of international processes and institutions.30/

What Are the Political Interests and Skills of Adolescents?

Adolescents do profess an interest in politics. Most 13- and 17-year-olds feel highly efficacious toward school-related decisionmaking but this feeling does not carry over to local politics.31/ While students are more likely than their parents to define citizenship in participatory terms,32/ in 1975 NAEP found only 44 percent of the 13-year-olds and 56 percent of the 17-year-olds felt they could influence local government.33/ This represents a 25-percent decline over the 6-year period for 13-year-olds and a 16-percent decline for 17-year-olds. Students who responded that they could not influence local government defended their position with statements such as, "They don't take influence from kids." "Because we're just kids they wouldn't listen to us."34/ There was also some reported decline in the percentage of 17-year-olds reporting actual political experience--signing a petition (56 percent in 1976), writing an official (16 percent), and helping in an election campaign (9 percent).35/

Late adolescents have been found to have views on the major policy issues of the day.36/ They tend to be more critical than their elders of the government's treatment of the poor, the aged, and the helpless; they are also less tolerant of the persistence of discrimination in the United States.37/

There are decided differences among age groups in comprehending and articulating basic political concepts. Whereas less than 2 percent of the 9-year-old students in 1975-76 could describe what is meant by "democracy," 42 percent of the 13-year-olds and 74 percent of the 17-year-olds provided acceptable responses. The 1976 assessment, however, showed significant declines over the 1969 survey in satisfactory answers to this question; 13-year-olds dropped by 11

percentage points, and 17-year-olds declined by 12 points.38/

CITIZEN DEVELOPMENT IN ADULTS

Research concerning the importance of early political learning in determining adult political behavior is still inconclusive.39/ There is little research that examines the persistence of specific political outlooks over a lifetime. The age-related tendencies described in political socialization research are only general ones.

Experiences in adulthood are important in shaping these general tendencies, but research findings in the area of adult socialization are sparse.40/ It is generally assumed that the acquisition of basic political knowledge and the development of complex conceptualizations of the political world take place in childhood, and that adult learning is characterized by the formation of opinions on specific issues, candidates, and events. In adulthood, the main processes are usually cumulative and elaborative.

Other aspects of adult socialization may be important for citizen education. First, most adults tend to experience at least one sharp social discontinuity in their lifetime (e.g., military service in Vietnam, the Great Depression) which may sharply influence their approach to the political world. Second, growth continues in adult life, but along paths that are still not systematically studied.41/ These patterns of adulthood may have relevance for adult citizen behavior, but they have not been sufficiently documented by research.

Jennings and Niemi studied change in political orientations of young adults from age 18 to 25. They compared the young adults' political orientations to that of their parents and found change in both groups. In the eight years after high school, young adults experienced a great deal of citizen education and

learning, the net effect of which was to narrow the political gap between their generation and that of their parents.42/ The authors observed: "Life-cycle effects do not occur solely among young adults, but continue throughout most if not all of adult life."43/

What Do Adults Know?

Like adolescents, a majority of adults cannot name both Senators (U.S. Congress) from their State; less than two-thirds know that the Congress is comprised of the House and the Senate; less than 40 percent claim to be well-informed about government or current political events.44/

The Adult Proficiency Level survey, conducted by the University of Texas in 1971-1974, found that only 48 percent of the Nation's adults were functionally competent in the areas of government and law.45/ Another national survey of adults in 1975 concluded that: "Economic understanding of the American public is incomplete and fragmentary. Few adults are highly knowledgeable and few are totally uninformed."46/

Adult interest in and knowledge of foreign affairs in considerably lower than it is of local or domestic issues.

> Survey researchers . . . who have examined the results of typical poll data have found that the vast majority of citizens hold pictures of the world that are at best sketchy, blurred, and without detail or at worse so impoverished as to beggar description. These restricted horizons become particularly evident when one examines the public's inability to give satisfactory

answers to objective questions related to world affairs.47/

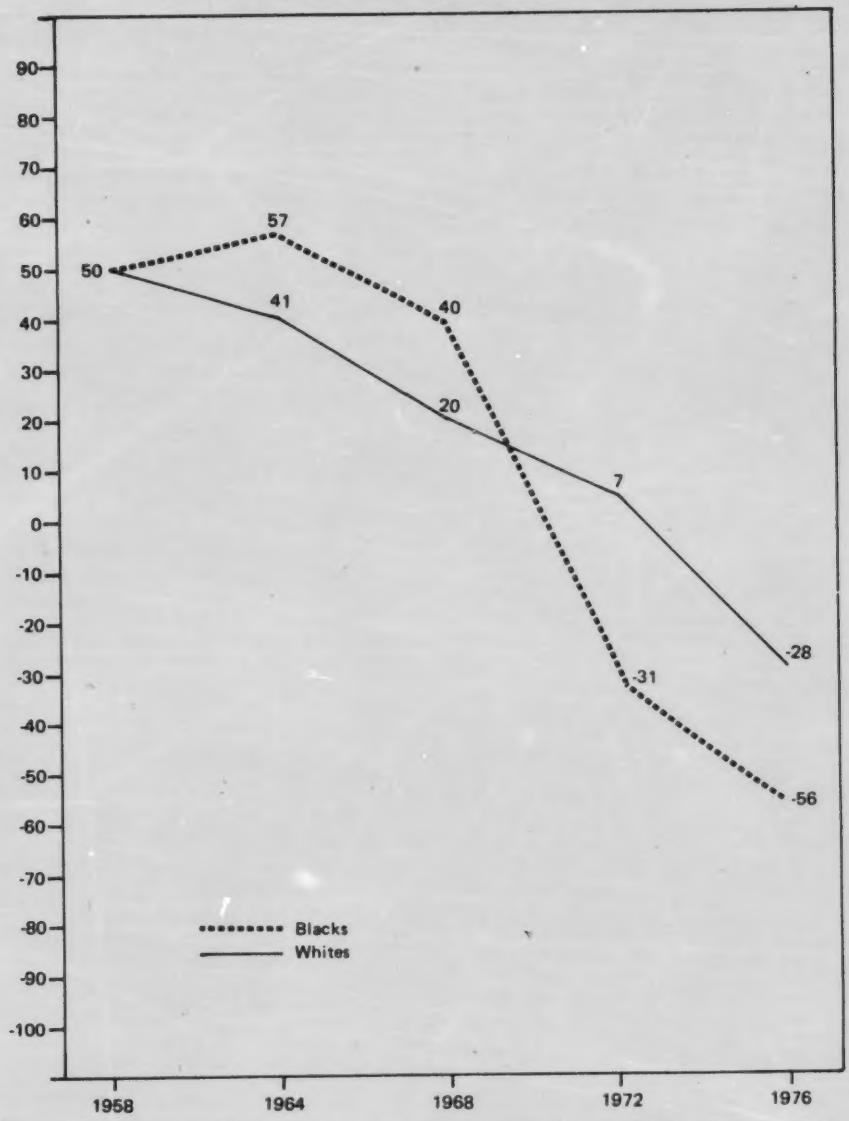
Yet most Americans do seem to have some information or interest--at least to the extent that they can articulate opinions on a wide variety of public issues. Seldom do the Gallup poll reports indicate a sizable number of "I don't know" responses to their inquiries on current affairs.48/

What Are the Attitudes of Adults?

Like American youth, adults' political attitudes do not mirror the textbook image of the ideal citizen. Large numbers of citizens of different age groups do not accept certain ramifications of the basic ideals of a democracy, especially as they pertain to civil liberties and the rights of minority groups. Numerous studies from the 1950's through the 1970's49/ show that adults are willing to accept censorship of the media for unpatriotic content, they are slow to extend freedom of assembly to persons desiring to protest, and they are likely to give government more authority than equity would require. Similar to the reactions of children discussed earlier, adults rate other countries favorable if they are historically or culturally related to the United States. In one study, the respondents gave the most favorable rating (96 percent) to the United States, and Russia, China, and Cuba were given much lower ratings.50/

Ladd's analysis of citizens' evaluations of the institutions of government shows that the adult public has much less confidence in governmental institutions than it had just 10 years ago.51/ As figure 1 graphically displays, the amount of political trust among the American black-white population has dropped substantially since 1958. The decline has been greatest among black Americans.

FIGURE 1
Index of Trust in Government, Blacks and Whites, 1958-1976



Source: Arthur H. Miller and Warren E. Miller, "Partisanship and Performance: Rational Choice in the 1976 Presidential Election." Paper prepared for the American Political Science Association meeting, Washington, D.C., September 1977, p. 69.

Indicators of Adult Participation

Numerous studies over the past 30 years provide ample evidence that adult participation is confined largely to electoral activity. Even then, less than two-thirds of the adult citizen population typically votes in a presidential election; less than one-half typically votes in congressional elections; as few as 30 percent vote in most local elections. Special district elections or party primaries evoke an even smaller turnout.52/ And these numbers are in decline.

In a 1976 survey, only 37 percent of the respondents said they had talked to someone about why they should vote for a particular candidate or party; 16 percent reported having made a campaign contribution; 6 percent had attended a political meeting or rally; only 4 percent had worked for a party or candidate.53/

Traditional political involvement frequently reaches its peak for adults in their mid-forties. There is evidence that political activity diminishes considerably after age 50, even though older Americans tend to vote and to remain loyal to their political party.54/ In contrast with the traditional forms of participation described here, involvement in grassroots and community organizations appears to be increasing. This phenomenon is described on page /.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The empirical findings reported in the preceding pages have provided a brief descriptive overview of the general level of civic competence that exists within the American public. The United States does not have a politically, socially, or economically homogeneous public. Citizens respond differently to similar situations and politicization may be unique to specific contexts. To understand and address the issues of citizen education, we need to examine the

role of such factors as social class, racial and ethnic identity, gender, and geographic region in addition to modal individual predispositions and cognitive growth.

Social Context

During early childhood, positive attitudes toward political authorities and symbols are universal,55/ but as children grow older, differences among groups begin to appear. By the third or fourth grade, middle class children begin to stop personalizing and idealizing political authority, but lower class children do not begin this process until late childhood or early adolescence.56/

Lower class children of all ages tend to show somewhat lower levels of political maturity than middle class children. The difference is more of awareness and active participation that it is of normative support for political activism. Willingness to participate may be expressed about equally for both groups 57/ but students from lower class backgrounds tend to discuss politics with parents and friends less frequently.58/

One study comparing citizen education in middle, low middle, and working class communities found that students in the middle class community were receiving an education designed to develop leadership capabilities and participatory competence, whereas education in the other two communities emphasized obedience, obligations, and deference to the status quo.59/

Formal Education

An individual's education may affect civic competence. A higher level of education enables one to be more fully involved in social communication networks and thus to gain political information on a

wide variety of topics. The well educated tend to have more successful and generally positive political experiences than the less well-educated people.60/

Occupation

For adults, occupation may play a significant role in the development of citizen orientations. In part, the effects of occupation are similar to those of education. Many of the skills and abilities developed in occupational roles can be generalized to the political world. In addition, work settings may be important for structuring secondary group relationships that have political effects.61/

Community

The size and type of community in which one lives influences the kinds of citizenship opportunities available--it is easier to mobilize large groups of people in a dense urban setting than a rural one; some issues are different in coastal and mountain towns, etc.

Although the percentage of students from all communities showed declines in political knowledge over the last 7 years, according to the NAEP survey, the rate and direction of change varies from locale to locale and age to age.62/ There was less decline among the percentage of 9-year-olds from disadvantaged urban areas; 13-year-olds from affluent areas actually improved their scores, as did 13- and 17-year-olds from extreme rural areas.63/ Typically, the students in the northeastern and central regions of the United States perform slightly better on NAEP social studies and citizenship assessments, those from the West at average levels, and those in the southestern region below the national level.64/

Race, Ethnicity, and Religion

Minority groups in our society are influenced by

class, education, and the like, but there is evidence that there are unique political effects which may be attributed to minority status. Weissberg reviewed the research on black political socialization and concluded, for example, that blacks tend to be socialized to political apathy.65/

The most significant finding in the NAEP longitudinal assessments may be the continuing gap between black and white students' performances on both citizenship and social studies measures. On the whole, 17-year-old black students performed at about the level of 13-year-old white students, some 12 points below other students their own age. The percentage of blacks, like whites, has declined in the ability to answer basic citizenship-related questions although in some instances the declines for blacks were not as severe as for whites. Black students expressed more interest in politics than white youths and were more active in working for changes in their schools.66/

Other research has shown that while adults are more likely to see the political system as responsive to them, black adults see it as unresponsive and not worthy of high trust and involvement.67/ The differences are not only a consequence of class and income. They may also stem from realistic perceptions and experiences of hostility toward minorities on the part of political authorities as well as white society generally.

Ethnic group membership and religious identification are less researched than minority status, although they are also important influences on political attitudes and opinions. They may serve as reference points for both children and adults and they structure relationships among individuals of different groups.

The significance of group identification, of course, varies. An individual's use of a particular group as a political reference point depends on the

strength of identification with the group and the perceived relevance of group attitudes for the issue at hand.

Gender

Gender role differences appear early in childhood and continue through adolescence. Research indicates that girls are steered away from assertiveness and leadership and toward deference to authority and general dependency.68/

Girls keep their immature picture and idealized, personalized images of authority figures longer than boys.69/ Political activities increase markedly for both girls and boys from the fourth to the eighth grades, but the increase is greater for boys at each grade level, and boys continue to be better informed about political matters.70/ By the time they are seniors in high school, boys feel more competent to manipulate their political environment than do girls.71/

While the NAEP data show a clear difference in a wide range of political knowledge and attitudes questions at age 9, with males performing higher than females, by age 17 this difference is erased (i.e., in 1976, male and female performances were almost identical).72/ Gender role differences appear to be more prominent for experiencing political leadership roles and active citizen participation than for acquiring knowledge of and positive attitudes toward public concerns.

This chapter has focused on assessments of the levels of civic competency among children, adolescents, and adults and has indicated a number of developmental, social, and cultural factors which help account for differences within age group. The results are sobering: assessed civic competencies are minimal; and

they are undergoing starting declines in a number of substantive areas measured by nationwide surveys.

Chapters 3 and 4 continue this analysis, by focusing on the ways that various agents of society contribute to the development of civic competencies, and by providing examples of programs across the country which are attempting to increase citizens' ability for effective, responsible participation in civic life.

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CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION; AGENTS OF CITIZENSHIP

Each sector that will be considered in this chapter and in the next--families and peers, schools, the mass media, voluntary organizations, business and labor, and government--has a particular role in the process of citizen development. Three factors should be considered when examining the relationship between citizenship and these educational agents.

First, as we have seen, citizens learn ideas, attitudes, skills, and behaviors from different sources at different points in their lives. A 45-year-old surgeon, for example, is unlikely to learn about proposals for national health insurance from her parents; she may, however, have acquired from them at an early age a negative attitude toward government involvement in health care. Her desire to influence government policy, along with the skills to do so, may have started to develop as senior class president of her high school or as a student in social studies courses. These experiences, as well as a report from the American Medical Association, may have prompted her to write her Senator about health care legislation.

Second, certain sectors are more appropriate than others for teaching and providing experiences about citizenship. Schools, for instance, are more likely to be an efficient vehicle for teaching facts about constitutional processes than are families and peer groups. Families and peers can be strong forces in shaping basic identities, values, and skills, but the mass media are a more important source of information about current events.1/

Third, in spite of the importance to citizen development of a particular sector, it is not always

possible to plan educational programs that build on this potential. For example, the family is critical in political socialization yet the sheer numbers of families and the diversity of their views about child rearing makes it difficult to involve significant numbers of families in citizen education activities.2/

Finding ways to improve the process of citizen development is difficult. The issues are complex. We are not able to identify exactly which sectors are most appropriate for which activities, and we do not know at what times in a person's life such learning activities would be most effectively undertaken. Nor do we have adequate concepts of citizenship and of the process of citizen development to guide such typologies. Furthermore, even if we knew what would be most efficient, the diversity of values and views which surround the goals of citizen education are likely to produce resistance from the sectors about conforming to such prescriptions.

Perhaps the most important factor to consider is that the agents involved in the process of citizen education are interdependent. To improve the process and its results is the joint responsibility of all the agents. Any attempt at reform is unlikely to be effective without significant collaboration.

This chapter will examine the influence of the family and peer group on children and adolescents, and then focus in some detail on the variety of school-based programs in citizen education. The next chapter will look at other sectors and their contribution to citizen education. The programs and activities which are included are those we learned about the course of the USOE citizen education project. Each of them relates to one or more of the core elements described in chapter 1. To the extent possible, we have tried to include examples which have been evaluated as successful. Such data are not always available, however. Even when they are, evidence is, in some cases, fragmentary.

In selecting programs, therefore, we have tried to include those which exemplify theoretical developments, those which include evaluative data, and a sampling of the major types of programs that characterize citizen education activities. In order to provide some insight into the nature of these programs, we have covered a few of them in depth within each category rather than briefly describe many programs. To provide information about these and some additional programs not mentioned here, appendix B contains a partial listing of organizations and contact persons in citizen education.

PRIMARY GROUPS: FAMILY AND FRIENDS

The Role of the Family

The family serves as a stabilizing force within society that inculcates cultural values and initiates learning about civic affairs. It is most influential in the development of basic attitudes and orientations toward authority and rules in young children, as well as in the creation of feelings of trust and perceptions of acceptable behavior and general lifestyle.3/ Through the combined impact of continuing contact and strong emotional ties, the family can influence the social and political outlooks of children throughout their lives.

But as the child matures, close peers may become increasingly important, particularly as the person begins to separate from his or her family.4/ During adolescence, the role of the family, especially the parents, becomes conditioned by other agents and forces in the child's environment; specifically, school and peer groups.5/

Research suggests that certain factors affect the impact of parental socialization. The NAEP has found a consistent relationship between high levels of parental education and high performance on the citizenship assessment.6/ Parents who pursue political topics

with their children may encourage positive attitudes toward political participation. Parental influence is particularly important when parents agree with one another in political matters, when they are consistent in their views, when they make their ideas and values known to their children, and when their political opinions are important to them.7/

Parents are in a position to have more impact in transmitting political outlooks than they usually exercise. In general, politics is not of great importance to most parents, and positions on political issues are not considered to be particularly relevant for relationships within the family. When parents fail to communicate specific political opinions and values and do not indicate concern for the positions taken by their offspring, other socializing influences tend to fill the void.

Yet even a family that is politically apathetic will indirectly have an influence. "To a considerable extent the atmosphere within the family, relationships among family members, and the types of stimulation the children receive help to shape the development of political thinking."8/ Merelman has argued that a positive identification between parent and child is linked to the development of moral reasoning and cognitive skills. These skills are related to the capacity to think about politics and encourage the growth of political ideology in the maturing child.9/

Illustrative Programs and Activities

The importance of parents as teachers of their children is beginning to receive new attention. After decades in which the schools where asked to assume increasing responsibility, there is a growing realization that the school's effectiveness depends on its collaboration with home and community.

Concrete, easy to follow, and useable ideas which encourage parents to be educators of their children is the specialty of the Home and School Institute (HSI) in Washington, D.C. HSI "recipes" are designed to raise the achievement levels of children through collaboration between home and school. This work is based on research which shows that (1) the nature of the interaction between parents and child determines in large part the child's school performance; and (2) all parents can contribute substantially to their children's growth.10/ For this reason, many HSI programs combine teaching ideas with parent-training workshops designed to build the self-confidence of parents. To the extent possible, each program and approach is accompanied by an evaluation.

HSI recipes are oriented to the age and maturity of the child. They are easy to carry out and generally involve objects found around the home. Perhaps their greatest value is in helping parents begin to see many possibilities for encouraging knowledge and skills development and strengthening their relationship with their child.

In order to reach families effectively and to coordinate activities with school programs, many HSI activities are distributed to school-children with the cooperation of their teachers.

HSI suggests that parents can involve children actively in family decisions to encourage decision-making skills. Even very young children can be given a few alternatives from which to choose, and each child can be encouraged to offer an opinion. A starting point might be letting a child arrange his or her own room. Or children can study television schedules to select what and when they want to watch, and then make a decision in conjunction with their parents. Family outings provide another opportunity for children to help plan. They can follow a map to help chart the way, or make a list of what they want to do and see.

The entire family can discuss how decisions are made and which are the major factors to be considered.

SCHOOLS

Schools complement and reinforce many of the values and attitudes as well as much of the information provided by the family and by the media. The formal task of citizenship training rests with the schools. This responsibility is overtly fulfilled through the social studies curriculum; however, schools themselves provide a rich environment in which political knowledge, experience, and reflection can be consciously integrated. They offer a continuity of experience over time, and opportunities for participation and experimentation in quasi-political activities. Finally, students can observe in schools the political behavior of many adults important to them, and they can experience rulemaking and enforcement, authority, interpersonal influence, and a range of democratic procedures.11/

The Impact of Schools

In what ways does the school affect citizen development? Ehman, in his systematic review of the literature on political socialization and the schools, developed the following generalizations about the current role of the school in citizen development:12/

--The school has its greatest impact through the transmission of political information; its importance increases from grade to high school. The school plays a lesser role in attitude formation and skill development.

--The school's impact varies according to the student and is greatest for low social status and minority populations.

--"Regular" secondary school curriculum has little impact on students and student attitudes, except for racial minorities.

--The teacher has some modest impact on student attitudes and through his or her influence on classroom "climate" can be highly influential.

--Systematically designed curriculum treatments can result in considerable transmission of and increases in political information at all age levels.

--Participation in school governance and extra-curricular activities relates positively to political attitudes as does total school climate. More participant and less authoritarian climates are linked to more positive attitudes and behavior.

In his review of research on classroom "climate", Ehman concluded that teachers' willingness to discuss controversial issues and students' sense of freedom to discuss and voice opinions had a facilitating effect on political attitude development.

The content and frequency of exposure to formal civic education courses also may have an impact on students. The most recent National Assessment (1976) found that 17-year-olds who admitted that they had studied politics very little were 10 points below the national level (in the total scores on the knowledge and attitude items). Those who studied politics a great deal were nine points above.13/ Seventy-one percent thought their courses supplied the knowledge necessary to participate in politics; but more than half agreed that "students already know much of what is taught."14/

In general, we lack the kind of longitudinal studies that might help us understand how experience in school relates to future citizen development. Nor do we know enough about the impact of variables such as self-esteem, moral development, and social perspective-taking. Student personality and

ability, teachers' values and styles, school governance, and extracurricular activities together form an integrated force in the political development of American youth.

National Trends15/

Virtually all States mandate the teaching of citizenship in some form. Since 1973, about one-half of the States have passed legislation related to citizen education. Eight of these specify instruction about "free enterprise," with three considering comparable bills. A number of States also mandate "student participation" activities. Of the 36 States which have recently enacted basic competency testing, 10 include citizenship.16/

On the other hand, over the past two decades, traditional civics courses have lost enrollment. Based on nationally reported statistics, high school enrollments in 9th grade civics courses dropped by 38 percent between 1961 and 1973, while the traditional 12th-grade Problems of Democracy decreased by 22 percent over the same time period. At the same time, dramatic increases were reported in economics, sociology, and psychology.17/

The cycle of social studies courses recommended in 1918 by the National Education Association, however, continues to dominate the curriculum. This includes the study of communities in the 3d and 4th grades; civics in the 9th and 12th grades; American history in 5th, 8th, and 11th grades; and geography, State or world history in the 7th and 10th grades. American history still accounts for most of the citizen-education-related enrollments, with some 3.4 million reported in 1973.18/

Within these general parameters, an extraordinary amount of diversity and fragmentation exists. A report on six regional case studies, 19/ conducted in

1976-77, documents substantial variation from one region of the country to another, and even within school districts. The similarities that exist, the authors suggest, may be derived from the continuing dependency of schools upon a selected number of nationally marketed textbooks. The case studies indicate a lack of careful coordination, with most citizen education activities consisting of a collection of courses, units, topics, and so on. In some school districts, particularly in the elementary grades, growing interest in "back to the basics" has resulted in pressure to improve reading and math scores to the detriment of citizen education.20/ Yet, other districts show awareness that social studies are closely allied with basic skills, particularly literacy. And some parts of the country regard citizenship itself as basic.21/

Illustrative Programs and Activities in Elementary Schools

In general, elementary activities dealing with citizenship appear to fall into one of three categories: (1) those designed to build national identity and loyalty; (2) those designed to impart factual information about American government and history; and (3) those that attempt to introduce concepts and modes of inquiry from the social sciences.22/ Seldom do these programs encourage active learning and participation, and rarely do they incorporate experiences which have personal meaning for young children. For the most part, there have been few attempts to provide systematic, sequential exposure to citizen education concepts, skills, attitudes, and experiences throughout the elementary years. Some recent programs which attempt to relate citizen education to the lives of young children are described below.

Decisionmaking Skills.--Citizenship Decisionmaking (CDM) is a curriculum project designed to enrich social studies and language arts instruction in grades four to nine. Designed by the Citizenship Development Project of the Mershon Center, Ohio State University, this

program employs the concept of decisionmaking to make civic education personally meaningful for teachers and children.

Short, self-contained lessons, compatible with existing curriculum patterns, teach the skills of making, judging, and influencing decisions in everyday life. The materials incorporate a variety of instructional strategies including role playing, small and large group activities, value recognition, simulation, interviews, case studies, experiments and observations. The range of approaches makes the materials suitable for students and teachers with many different learning or teaching styles.

CDM developers hope this course will promote positive transfer of learning from the classroom to the practical problems of citizenship that students face. Topics range from family or peer issues to national or international concerns. Children employ problem-solving techniques in order to consider alternatives, consequences, and values.

In one unit entitled "Judging Decisions of Others," students attempt to evaluate the consequences of having a foreign industry locate in their community. In a role-play exercise, some students play city council members whose decision will affect not only local residents, but also international trade and the economy of another nation. The rest of the class observes the proceedings and judges the merit of the final decision by the council. Teaching this unit constitutes a minicourse in content and method for the instructor, who can also vary the lesson through the addition of such other activities as research into community needs, employment patterns, etc.

The theoretical design for CDM stemmed initially from a project of the American Political Science Association and was elaborated by the Citizenship Development Project of the Mershon Center. The

materials were commercially published in May 1978. Among school districts using the materials are those in Atlanta, Ga.

Inventing the Future.--The City Building Educational Program, Los Angeles, Calif., is an integrated curriculum adaptable to all educational levels which focuses on invention, self-discovery and expression, and on understanding the relationship of self to objects, organizations, and environment. At its core it contains the concept of active citizen participation in governance. It is designed to help students become productive, independent, and thoughtful citizens in a complex, uncertain, and changing world.

In City Building, the classroom becomes an analog of the city. In the course of the year, the students design, build, organize, develop, and govern their city of the future, with the assistance of adult professionals who are invited into the classroom to share in the process. The curriculum, which incorporates reading, math, and other "basics", culminates in the building, evaluation, and redevelopment of a model city of styrofoam, suitable for a site within the students' own community and responsive to the community's changing needs.

Major program objectives are to eliminate student passivity, to teach children to take charge of themselves and their environment, and then learn to live with the consequences of their decisions. One student expressed her satisfaction with the program this way:

> When I started the sixth grade I was shy and scared. But as I went on I began to realize that you can't just sit back and let everything happen and go along with it. So I decided that I better change and share my thoughts with the class. . . . If city building hadn't of come along I would still be a shy little nothing. In the future I hope to be a strong leader.

Since 1973, City Building students have demonstrated above-grade increases in reading and math test scores. A 1974 study conducted by Los Angeles County evaluators found that City Building students (randomly assigned to five classrooms) tested significantly higher than students assigned to five traditional classrooms on six out of eight objectives. Participation in a project of the American Bar Association will enable City Building to expand its citizenship component and to design an evaluation tool for such citizenship-related attributes as leadership and self-worth.

Law-Related Education.--Law in a Free Society, Santa Monica, Calif., is developing a sequential K-12 program which focuses on eight concepts: participation, justice, freedom, privacy, property, diversity, authority, and responsibility. Curriculum units, which include readings for students and teachers, instructional guides and evaluation instruments, as well as sound filmstrips, are designed to develop increasingly sophisticated understandings of these civic concepts.

Units on privacy and authority have been completed and published. The lower elementary units on authority, for example, use experience from the child's own life to explain this concept. Authority figures include the crossing guard, the teacher, the blackboard monitor, and a team captain. Students explore the need for authorities (e.g., to promote safety and order). They also learn that authoritative roles involve responsibilities, and that authorities have limits on their power. Students role-play positions of authority to help them understand what it is like being in a particular position.

An evaluation of the privacy materials has just been completed, based on data from 40 teachers, as well as more than 1,000 parents and students. The results will include data on attainment of objectives, low-level cognitive test scores, and reports of attitude

change. Anecdotal evidence collected thus far indicates that students at an early age are able to understand these concepts, when they have been presented in a concrete, meaningful way.

Law in a Free Society's curriculum materials are being used in school districts in more than 30 States, and in Canada and Australia. They have also been adopted for use by the Department of Defense Overseas Dependents Schools.

Illustrative Secondary School Programs and Activities

At one time, citizenship education was the primary focus of all education. But increasingly it has become identified with a particular course of study--social studies, history, civics. In the 1960's, the emphasis on developing curricular electives resulted in a multiplicity of citizen education programs. One author has distinguished eight distinct approaches: the academic disciplines (history, social sciences), law-related education, social problems, critical thinking, values clarification, moral development, community involvement, and institutional school reform.23/ Others might add global perspectives, future studies, multicultural education, consumer education, or prosocial behavior. While not mutually exclusive, these approaches represent different emphases, and each competes for a share of scarce resources and for a share of the student's and teacher's time.

Following are examples to illustrate many of these specialized approaches, as well as some attempts at more inclusive curriculums.

Action Learning.--One commonly held view of citizenship is that of "membership, implying a recognition of mutual interest with all other members, a sense of shared concern for the welfare of the total community and a willingness and ability to contribute to the

well-being of that community."24/ Action-learning programs are designed around this concept of citizenship. They combine meaningful student involvement in community life with associated instruction and reflection.25/ Methods of accomplishing this objective may include volunteer service, internships, social and political action, and community studies and surveys. Often community activities are accompanied by inschool exercises designed to increase reflective, observational, and analytic capacities of participating students.

A threefold rationale underlies action learning. First, projects attempt to contribute to the social development of adolescents by increasing student participation in the "real" world outside school. Recent studies of adolescence have suggested that the separation of youth from the adult world leads to an inadequate preparation for adulthood, including insufficient acceptance of responsibility for self and others, and a weakened concern for the welfare of the total community. Action learning seeks to make youth contributing members of society, and also to help school become a participating community institution.

A second impetus for action learning comes from the educational philosophy of John Dewey, and the developmental psychology of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg. Their theories suggest that social and cognitive growth, while occurring developmentally, is affected by the quality of interaction between the individual and his or her environment.

Finally, action learning attempts to enhance student motivation in school by providing youth with opportunities to generalize and transfer their academic learning to social arenas outside the schools.

Past experience with action-learning curriculum has led to an assessment of what constitutes productive experiences. Two leaders in this area contend

that it is difficult for students to undertake successfully direct political action. Students are unlikely to feel confident that their political actions will matter (often with reason); they lack the skill to mobilize what power they could exert.

> Through the less obviously "political" actions (such as volunteer service and community projects), students may be most likely to develop a concern for serious social problems and to build a sense of confidence that their actions can make a difference. As for skills, there is not much available in schools to prepare students realistically for effective political action should they have the concern and confidence motivating them to try it.26/

In one action-learning program, Project ACT, students studied the future of their city at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. In meetings with museum staff, they examined artistic and cultural needs. Urban architects helped them understand the need for quality design in city planning; governmental officials discussed restraints of environmental pollution and energy depletion on future urban development.

At a county government center, students tested their social studies-English course on Youth in Pursuit of Justice. Using observational and interview techniques, they attended trials and public hearings, or discussed plea bargaining with legal officials. The second phase of the program involves governmental internships.

An evaluation of the program involving some 4,000 students suggests that participants "developed more positive attitudes toward people different from themselves." They also reported gains in self-knowledge, the ability to work with others, and a new ability to learn from their own direct experience. In the words

of one 17-year-old: "The last three months have been the most important time in my life. I never knew how much people needed help or how much help I could give them."27/

An analysis of program implementation in seven different schools has identified major areas of difficulty. These include institutionalizing action learning within the school, linking community action with academic content, encouraging students to reflect on their experience, and surmounting logistical problems such as transportation and insurance. Program designers have described some strategies for overcoming these obstacles.28/

Another approach to action learning, with an exclusive focus on citizenship, is described in "Skills in Citizen Action: An English-Social Studies Program for Secondary Schools."29/ Students earn both English and social studies credits while enrolled in this program. The curriculum uses literature and politics to teach about key issues of citizenship and develops skills in communication, moral deliberation, participation, leadership, and decisionmaking. Community service internships and small group projects provide opportunities for applying knowledge and skills to influence public policy in a local community setting. Special workshops in political skills development are designed to build a capacity for direct action.

Valuing Democratic Principles.--Schools provide explicit and implicit instruction in values, ethics, and morals. The role models which the teachers and staff provide, the rules which govern the school and class, the subjects that are taught, the relative authority of administrator, teacher, parent, and student--all of these provide lessons.

A recent impetus for values education has come primarily from two sources: (1) dismay over corrupt leadership and increased crime and vandalism; and (2) promising research and theory related to cognitive

moral development. According to a 1976 survey of State education agencies, 42 States seek to integrate moral and ethical values education into the citizenship education curriculum.30/ At the same time, some school districts prohibit moral instruction and several major curriculum projects have been attacked on the grounds that they teach values offensive to some parent groups.

Values education is thus both controversial and pervasive. Lacking clear guidelines on how to approach this area, educators have moved away from the inculcation of specific values to a focus on the process of valuing and on the impact of the "hidden curriculum."

One recent curriculum approach in this area is values clarification, which consists of activities aimed at helping individuals and groups develop and clarify their own values. Proponents argue that individuals are subject to value confusion and a lack of perceived purpose. Values clarification attempts to help students examine their value choices, weigh them, decide which are most important, and begin to act consistently on their chosen values.31/

The author of a 1978 review of research on the impact of values clarification discovered inconclusive results; he suggested that proponents need to define program goals more specifically, develop reliable and valid measurement instruments, and ensure that results are educationally as well as statistically valid.32/

Another approach to this area is moral development, based on the theories of Lawrence Kohlberg.33/ Kohlberg proposes that an individual's moral judgment progresses through a sequence of invariant stages ranging from hedonistic (oriented to reward and punishment) to conventional (rule-oriented) to morally principled. He argues that exposure to a stage of moral reasoning slightly above one's own induces conflict which may result in progression to a higher stage of moral reasoning.

Research by Kohlberg and Robert Selman indicates that two factors limit the development of moral thought: cognitive capacity--the ability to use formal, abstract thought--and perspective-taking--the capacity to see events or interests from the perspective of another person, other groups, or society as a whole.34/ Kohlberg suggests, for example, that moral development affects the ability of people to understand the principles underlying the U.S. Constitution or the Declaration of Independence.

A number of educational programs have applied Kohlberg's research. Interventions have taken two forms: (1) introducing moral dilemmas into the classroom and encouraging active discussion between students at a different levels of moral reasoning; and (2) establishing models of participatory democracy within existing schools. While some evidence suggests that these methods can raise reasoning levels for some students, little evidence exists that they produce more principled behavior. A review of research on moral development calls on researchers "to establish the relationship between moral reasoning and citizenship. Progress in this area would strengthen the developmentalists' contention that stimulation of moral reasoning should become a major goal for public education."35/

The Democratic School.--The ideas of John Dewey and Kohlberg converge in the democratic school reform movement. The goals are to prepare students for life in a democracy by making the "hidden" curriculum consistent with formal instruction through a democratization of school governance. Program developers hope students will learn self-governance and decisionmaking, and develop perspective-taking and participation skills.36/

Democratic schools take a variety of forms. Some present complete alternatives to the regular public school; others provide a specialized program within a

regular school, or a few courses. Most programs integrate English and social studies, discuss moral dilemmas, and feature regular community meetings where problems of discipline, intergroup relations, curriculum, and community-building are addressed.

In 1974, Kohlberg and his associates opened their first community school, a unit wthin Cambridge and Latin School, Cambridge, Mass. Other experiments include programs in the public school systems of Brookline, Mass., Pittsburgh, Pa., and Riverside, Calif. The latter two are part of an attempt by Carnegie-Mellon University to organize a comprehensive, inexpensive civic-education program, which is currently under way in seven schools. The Danforth Foundation has provided some assistance for all of these programs.

A number of factors affect the success of democratic school programs. The commitment of teachers and administrators is vital. The chief school administrator must actively support the program so that parents and community will clearly understand its purpose.37/ A carefully organized community meeting is another crucial component. On first attempt, some of the school reformers confused democracy with anarchy. Eventually, rules governing the democratic process were devised, and teachers and students learned how to conduct meetings fairly, reach consensus, and sharpen or resolve issues through use of committees.38/

Ralph Mosher commented on the 1975-77 efforts of the School Within a School (a part of Brookline High and a place where students take at least two courses, and participate in the town meeting while attending the regular high school for the balance of their course work):

> These high school students can learn to govern themselves . . . those students who participate in school democracy learn important parliamentary skills--chairing meetings, speaking to the point, taking other students' view into account etc.--which should generalize to their later lives. . . . Further, there is preliminary

evidence that children and adolescents who participate in democratic (i.e., self-governing) classrooms show significant gains in their measured moral reasoning.39/

In order to understand more adequately the impact of these projects, a Ford Foundation grant is supporting a full-scale evaluation of the effects of Cluster School and the School Within a School on their students, and Carnegie-Mellon University is currently supervising a major evaluation of its project.

Student Participation in Education Policy--Since 1971, the Massachusetts Board of Education has been developing ways for involving students in issues of school policy. The purpose is similar to other aforementioned projects--to prepare students to assume meaningful roles in adult society. In Student Service Centers at six locations, students working part time after school make information available to their peers and interested adults on school programs, policies, and laws; hold workshops on topics of current interest; and help citizens and students deal with school-related problems.

Under a State mandate, two students from each public high school are elected to represent their student body on the Student Advisory Council (SAC). Eleven regional Councils elect students to the State SAC. The chairperson of the State SAC serves as a voting member of the State board of education. The program demonstrates that student participation can matter. The Student Advisory Council has submitted bills to the State legislature; influenced the State Board of Education to sponsor student-related bills; and testified before the State legislature's education committee. Each summer about 300 Student Advisory Council members attend special workshops offered by the Massachusetts Department of Education to receive training in communication skills and decisionmaking; information about curriculum and instruction, guidance,

student rights, and school governance; and other knowledge about educational practices and policies. All school districts in the State are also required to have students as advisors to their school committee, and many local districts offer other forms of student involvement which permit many more students to participate in these projects.40/

Learning About Government and Law.--The Institute for Political and Legal Education (IPLE) in New Jersey has designed a year-long high school social studies program which has been validated by the U.S. Office of Education as successful, cost-effective, and appropriate for national dissemination through the federally funded National Diffusion Network. IPLE has been adopted by more than 400 schools, and is the only citizenship education project disseminated through the network.

IPLE consists of three units: Voter Education; Government: The Decisionmaking Process; and Individual Rights. It combines the acquisition of information and skills with participation--first in role-playing simulation games and use of community resources, and then through internships in actual community, local, and State agencies. The voter education unit, for example, teaches students the process of issue analysis, canvassing and registration, election strategies, and media publicity. Voting reform, rights and procedures, party structure, and the electoral college are studied in detail. A simulated election can be held, and students are encouraged to engage in activities such as conducting survey polls for elections in and out of school, working on voter registration drives, and the like. Each student may serve a 20-day internship in a community agency in the course of the year in order to apply and reshape the skills acquired in school.

An evaluation of 91 junior and senior high school students enrolled in IPLE and a control group in the same schools showed the IPLE students to have a

significantly better rating on both a test of political knowledge and their inclination to participate in political and governmental activities. Through the National Diffusion Network, IPLE staff are able to offer (1) visitors a firsthand look at the program in nine different demonstration sites in New Jersey and (2) training and other consulting services for teachers, administrators, and students from districts across the country interested in adapting the program to their own specific needs.

Citizenship and Global Interdependence.--Articles in the press, recent scholarly literature, and speeches by public officials indicate a growing awareness of the global dimensions of our society. Citizenship now includes a global context; we are increasingly becoming participants in a transnational social order.

Because of this new dimension to citizenship, educators have been developing global education programs. Since the early 1970's, at least 15 States have adopted policy statements or have instituted requirements that relate to global education. Federal impetus for these programs began in 1958 with passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and its foreign language and area studies program. This mandate focused on the development of specialists and made possible graduate-level training about parts of the world not previously studied at American universities.

During the last few years, these resources have been gradually redirected to include more attention to general education and to make university resources available for use by the public schools, cultural centers, and citizens' groups. This change reflects the notion that the responsibility for developing foreign policy rests not only with specialists, but also with citizens. An amendment to the NDEA, passed in 1976 and funded for the first time in 1979, officially recognizes the national need to educate citizens about other cultures and nations.

Global Perspectives in Education (GPE), Inc., of New York City is a tax-exempt organization engaged in increasing public awareness of this area. GPE publishes Intercom, a quarterly journal, which provides classroom tools, resources, and ideas for teaching democratic values in a global context. The group is completing a 3-year curriculum project to identify and provide the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed by citizens in an interdependent world. Program developers have used the concepts of conflict, change, interdependence, and communication to organize lessons in social studies and language-arts courses for grades K-12.

Future program initiatives for GPE include an emphasis on three major areas of need. These are (1) communications and other support--e.g., publications, an information bank, and some limited technical assistance to those involved in training--for global perspectives projects which are being conducted at local, State, and regional levels; (2) activities designed to identify conceptual, research, and evaluation needs; and (3) public education aimed at engaging representatives of the media, business, and labor in education for global perspectives.

Multicultural Education--The social unrest of the 1960's and the heightening awareness of the multicultural nature of American society has produced an interest in ethnic studies and multicultural education. Today, some 33 States mandate some type of multicultural education in the public schools, and since 1972 the Federal Government has funded programs under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act. Recently the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education adopted a standard which requires every higher education institution with teacher training programs to incorporate multicultural education within its teacher-education component.

Multicultural education has made a number of contributions to citizen education programs. For example, it has produced some projects which examine the political cultures of ethnic groups and the ways in which they have contributed to the American Political system.

Multicultural education has also encouraged dialog among ethnic communities about to be affected by desegregation orders; led to the preparation of analytic instruments for teachers to use in detecting racism and stereotypes depicted in textbooks; and endeavored to examine the cultural variety of the American heritage. A number of organizations conduct leadership and dissemination activities related to multicultural education. A few are the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Center on Urban Ethnic Affairs, the National Ethnic Studies Association, and the Social Science Education Consortium.

Law-Related Education.--One of the fastest growing movements within citizen education is law-related education. Some projects emphasize practical law, while others focus on the values and legal principles which underlie governmental systems. In all cases, there is an attempt to develop an awareness of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and of the law as a primary means of resolving conflict in our society. The interest in this subject has occurred as a reaction to crime, to the low level of knowledge about our legal system in an extraordinarily legalistic society, and as a way of teaching civics that is concrete, realistic, and relevant.

Since 1971, the American Bar Association through its Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship, Chicago, Ill., has served as a catalyst and clearinghouse for programs in all 50 States. These programs have grown from about 100 to between 400 to 500 in less than a decade. Many of the law-related education programs were inititally funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) which is charged with combating juvenile delinquency and improving the justice system. Programs have also grown through support from State bar associations and community groups, and with funds from such organizations as the Danforth and Ford Foundations and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Law-Related Education Act of 1978, Part G of Title III--Special Projects of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended, authorizes a range of activities designed to stimulate the development of law-related education. If funds are appropriated for this program, the USOE will be able to make available grants and contracts for curriculum awareness and development activities, teacher training, research and evaluation, dissemination, and other educational activities.

A Directory of Law Related Education Projects, available from the American Bar Association, lists some 350 law-related education projects. Two of them are briefly described below.

Since 1963, the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF), Los Angeles, Calif., has been active in designing and disseminating legal education programs. CRF projects are based on collaboration among the schools, the bar, and other public institutions. They provide students with opportunities to see the justice system in action and to talk with administrators of the law.

CRF projects include the following:

- Youth and the Administration of Justice. This course includes peer teaching, mock trials, and simulations as well as field experiences in which students can observe police, prison and parole systems, or the courts and other agencies. This secondary school program has been commercially published.

- The Bill of Rights in Action is a quarterly publication which addresses a separate topic in each issue, such as school integration, the Supreme Court, crime, youth, and the police.

- The Los Angeles Lawyers in the Classroom is a project which brings volunteer lawyers into the school to join in simulation games,

to answer questions, and to lead debriefing sessions following films dealing with the law.

The National Street Law Institute is an outgrowth of a 6-year-old Georgetown University program in which law students teach about the law in District of Columbia public high schools. This project is now nationwide. It helps law schools to design clinical programs that enable law students to receive credit for teaching a "Street Law" course in high schools and in correctional institutions. The Institute has published textbooks which include units on criminal, consumer, family, housing, environmental, and individual rights law. The Street Law Institute provides teacher training and technical assistance related to the development of mock trials competitions, instructional methodology, substantive law, and other concerns.

Future Studies--Many educators believe that citizens must be prepared to deal with tomorrow's world. Thus, not only do citizen-education programs need to examine the realities of the past and present, but they should also try to anticipate and shape the future.

The World Future Society, Bethesda, Md., is one example of this concern. Its forthcoming 1979 edition of The Future: A Guide to Information Sources will describe between 400 to 500 selected educational courses and programs at all education levels, with emphasis on the postsecondary level. The recently established education section of the World Future Society held its first conference in 1978.

An example of a future studies project is the one designed by the Keene School System in New Hampshire, with Federal funding from the U.S. Office of Education (USOE). Through inservice training, skills were identified to help students prepare for the future. Curricular materials were then developed to aid students in gaining competencies in problem solving, critical thinking, forecasting, scenario writing, and other related studies.

Illustrative Programs in Postsecondary Education

Colleges and universities have had only limited interest in citizen education. In political science and public policy departments, the focus has been on public opinion, citizen participation, and political socialization.

Serious theoretical work has not been produced in part because these disciplines, like others in the social sciences during recent years, have deemphasized philosophical investigation. Instead, increased concern has been shown for developing specialized areas of competence and using sophisticated statistical techniques.

In addition, many academics have considered citizen education intellectually amorphous, while others identify it with indoctrination. A number of leading academics have expressed cynicism about the chances for efficacious citizenship and some dispute the value of increased citizen participation.41/ At the postsecondary level community colleges and continuing education programs have generally shown more interest in citizen education and participation.

Community Forums.--The American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) has undertaken several community forum projects. These projects are designed to help citizens better understand pressing contemporary issues, produce improved decisionmaking, and strengthen ties between community colleges and their communities.

With funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the AACJC mounted a national demonstration program which involved 11 colleges competitively selected for the creativity, replicability, and diversity of community forums which they proposed. The projects centered on issues raised in Courses by Newspaper (discussed under Media, p. 104). At each forum,

citizens were invited to observe presentations on themes of Courses by Newspaper, and to participate in a spectrum of media, cultural, and civic events. Lectures, panels, debates, town meetings, drama, films, book reviews, and radio and television broadcasts were all used in the projects which reached over a million citizens.

Based on the demonstration project, AACJC has identified six steps as crucial to the success of community forums. These include: (1) use of community advisory committees; (2) involvement of a wide range of community groups as cosponsors; (3) media programing and promotion (television, radio, and newspapers); (4) training for moderators and presenters; (5) introducing the program to the community through a media event; and (6) designing a series of related community activities (e.g., library and museum exhibits) which will draw attention to issues of the community forum.

Barriers to successful program implementation identified so far include the need to institutionalize the community forum within the college (e.g., through the designation of an official coordinator), the need to involve coordinators and faculty with the concerns of the community, and the need to implement the six steps of the planning process.

Following the forum demonstration program, AACJC received an additional grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to establish a community forums office. A series of workshops on the community forums process were held to help community colleges assume a leadership role in the discussion of public issues. Building on this experience, the Community Forums Office has now received funds from the Department of Energy and the National Endowment for the Humanities to conduct a nationwide community forum program on the energy issue, with resources being prepared by a host of national organizations including Courses by Newspaper.

Citizen Action Through Continuing Education.--A philosophy of involvement with community is reflected in citizen-education activities of Georgia State University's Urban Life Center. In January 1972, the Center invited more than 200 Atlanta leaders from government, business, the media, and the community at large to participate in weekly dialogues on urban issues. Following the 4-month program, these leaders (who had been asked to join the Center as Urban Life Associates) established 15 to 30 member Issue-Action groups. Each group was led by a citizen who had received special group-process training and included a university student-assistant who researched and assembled resources. The groups met weekly for 7 months.

The product of one such group was a model State fair-housing law which was submitted to a subcommittee in the Georgia House of Representatives. The bill, with some modifications, was introduced and the State Planning and Community Affairs Committee recommended its passage.

Another project produced a catalog of community organizations in Atlanta. In response to the organizations' concern with planning and zoning issues, the Urban Life Center Associates designed a series of workshops that used the expertise of faculty, graduate assistants, and professional planners. The workshops provided a look at the planning process and the role played by citizens in the planning process.

The Urban Life Center Associates continues to sponsor a range of citizen-education programs, and prepares a bimonthly Community Information Clearinghouse newsletter, serving 2,600 community leaders, government officials, and legislators in the Atlanta area.42/

Additional Postsecondary Activities--Grant programs in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and

Welfare have provided some support for citizen education. These have been sponsored by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), the Community Services and Continuing Education Program, and mandates for international education. Each of these sources has sponsored programs to improve the civic competence of students and members of the community at large.

Under a FIPSE grant, for example, the Residential College of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, developed a futures-oriented project that had been designed to prepare students to live in the 21st century. This project explored (1) the viability of using social science methodology to encourage citizen evaluation of social issues; (2) the developing of coping skills for meeting emerging trends; and (3) the developing of approaches to affect future social patterns. It is hoped that students in the program will be better able to comprehend major issues and trends of the late 20th century and to identify significant problems for research by the residential college social science program.

Other activities to promote citizen education in schools and universities are being conducted by a few higher education institutions such as Tufts University's Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Indiana University's Social Studies Development Center, and the Mershon Center at Ohio State University.

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CHAPTER 4

INTRODUCTION

Concern with citizen education extends beyond the traditional boundaries of the family and formal schooling. Other sectors of our society are interested and involved in developing civic competencies. This chapter will discuss selected activities of the media, voluntary/community groups, the workplace, and government. Many of the programs which are reviewed are not explicitly labeled "citizen education" and the motivations behind them vary considerably. Yet each of them contributes in some way to one or more of the elements of citizen education discussed in chapter 1.

MASS MEDIA

The Role of the Media

The potential influence of the media on citizen education is great, particularly among young children. Many people depend on the mass media for information about public affairs. Books and magazines cater to specialized interests. Newspapers provide information, analysis, editorials and letters to the editors. And television and radio present regular newscasts, specialists, and magazine-type programs such as "60 Minutes and "Today."

Television is particularly important, given its prevalence in our society. According to the 1970 census, 96 percent of American homes contain at least one television set; depending on their age and their economic and social background, most children watch from 14 to 49 hours of television a week and establish patterns of favorite programs and viewing times often by age 3.1/

Although the media contain vast potential for contributing to citizen education, to a great extent their content and approach are determined by structural factors. The economic bases upon which each depends have much to do with whether a particular medium produces "educational," "informative," or "entertaining" content. Commercial television, for example, is an oligopoly and acts in accordance with this model of economic behavior. It has a restricted number of suppliers and distributors, few channels, a focus on a national market, and programs that are based on a small number of familiar formats, genres, and plots. Commercial television, in particular, writes Prof. Paul Hirsch:

> . . .is less distracted than any other mass media by loyalties to such non-economic goals as editorial policy and standards, generations of family ownership or idiosyncratic decisions based on personal taste.
>
> It is an economic institution, first and foremost, responsive to market forces, and concerned only incidentally with questions about its broader cultural role or possible effects on a Nation of viewers.2/

Newspapers can also be viewed through an economic lens. Many are local monopolies and an increasing number are owned by chains. Craft traditions and occupational norms now must interact with new economic and organizational conditions that may not provide an adequate climate for the broadest and most representative expression of views in a community or an adequate description of public events. For example, circulation expansion may be possible only in affluent suburbs. Urban news must thus be balanced against suburban news not because of "objective" news criteria but because of marketing decisions made at national chain headquarters.3/ Clearly there is no way to separate the mass media from the larger social system.

Social Science Research on the Media*

Most people assume that the media have a tremendous influence on increasing knowledge and awareness of issues, and on changing attitudes, behavior, and values. Research does not bear this out, however.

Two statements summarize how the audience reacts to media messages:

1. In the coverage of a topic, the amount and sequence of its presentation, the channels it is carried in, and the time of day it appears will greatly affect whether it will be seen, read, or heard by the audience; and

2. The structural location of the individual (working, studying, being a homemaker), the interest others around him or her have in it, the amount of previous knowledge, and whether knowledge about the topic is likely to produce a functional outcome will account for learning about the topic.4/

These two statements address learning and not attitudes, values, or behaviors. The classic statement in this area is Klapper's: the media are more likely to reinforce than change attitudes, values, and behaviors.5/

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*Much of this discussion is based on materials presented at a workshop on the media sponsored by the Citizen Education staff. A summary paper of the workshop was presented by the Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance, the Mass Communication Doctoral Program, the Center for Political Studies, and the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge at the University of Michigan. Other data appear in Larry Rothstein, "New Directions in Mass Communication Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation," Washington, D.C.: USOE, 1978.

Prof. Steven H. Chaffee, however, writing on political socialization, finds that the mass media--particularly television and newspaper--constitute the principal source of political information for young people, and have considerable impact in determining the general topics people are concerned with. He states that young people attribute to the media considerable influence on their political opinions, in addition to informative power. Chaffee concludes that the news media are not as powerful in stimulating political activity as in cognitive effects.6/

Chaffee's findings are corroborated by the work of McCombs and Shaw. They report that the media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling people what to think about; i.e., the details of campaigning rather than the issues between candidates. In short, the media have an agenda-setting function.7/ Evidence gathered by George Comstock supports this claim. He found that most people received more information about issues from political campaign commercials than they did from television news coverage.8/

Audience and Public Information

Even if the media were more inclined to present information about public affairs, social science research indicates that such information would be handled in a different manner by different members of the society because of a "knowledge gap." The "knowledge gap hypothesis" asserts that people of higher socioeconomic status (SES) tend to acquire information at a faster rate than people of lower status, increasing the gap in information between these segments of the population. Factors which may help to account for these widening gaps include: (1) differences in communication skills and other education-related competencies; (2) differences in existing knowledge; (3) the middle class orientation of the print media, a primary source of public affairs information; (4) differences

in motivations to use communication resources; and (5) unequal access to communication technology.9/

With these considerations in mind we will now turn to a number of media experiments related to citizen education.

Illustrative Media Activities

The Interactive Media Process.--Experiments utilizing an interactive media process have been conducted in a number of cities. In this process the media are used as vehicles for the presentation of information. They stimulate and help support the discussion of a current and critical issue or a social service need. In a variety of settings, small groups, with "trained" leaders, watch the media's programs and discuss the issues involved. They are supported by an information system, discussion materials, access to experts, and a feedback system which allows questions, opinions, and responses to flow between those participating in the interaction and other citizens, institutions, government officials, and community leaders. A follow-through component responds to requests from participants for services, information, or necessary linkages with groups and individuals.10/

For example, in the fall of 1970, more than 8,000 people in the Puget Sound region of Washington gathered for 8 consecutive weeks in small groups to watch a television series entitled "The Eighth Day." This series provided information about the environmental problems confronting the region.11/ The result of this interactive process was the creation of 30 well-defined community programs ranging from clean-ups and recycling programs to lobbies for environmental legislation.12/

Cable Television.--Experiments are also under way involving citizens with their government through interactive cable television. In Columbus, Ohio, the "Qube"

system, sponsored by the Warner Cable Co., permits viewers to talk back to their sets through an electronic device. After an announcer's voice or a message displayed on the screen calls for an audience decision on some question, viewers can punch the appropriate response button and send an electronic signal to a bank of computers at Qube's main headquarters. There the computers tabulate the votes and flash the results on the home screen.

The Qube system has been used to test public reaction to a development plan proposed by the planning commission of a Columbus suburb. Not only was the commission able to conduct instant surveys of residents, but it was also able to expand involvement in a public meeting on the subject. About 125 residents joined the planning commission in a QUBE studio, while an additional 2,000 participated through their cable devices. The "electronic town meeting" alternated between participants in the studio and home viewers.13/

In Reading, Pa., an experiment sponsored by the New York University Alternative Media Center is designed to evaluate the use of two-way cable television. This project has tried to determine the costs and benefits of using interactive telecommunications to deliver public services and to evaluate the impact of this technology on senior citizens and public agencies.

The cable system includes three interconnected neighborhood communication centers, as well as local government offices, high schools, and the homes of local cable subscribers. The programs, which are transmitted 2 hours a day, 5 days a week, are conceived and produced by senior citizens and representatives of local organizations. Senior citizens participate in virtually all aspects of the system, planning and developing the programs, and operating the neighborhood centers.

Programing has moved from an initial monthly program "Meet the Mayor" to a weekly program in which senior citizens communicate directly with elected municipal and county officials. The teleconferences are open-ended; citizens use them to request information, articulate their preferences about public goods and services, and evaluate municipal policy.

The interactive system increases personal contact between citizen and public official and enhances the traditional functions of local government officials. Elected officials are able to obtain accurate and regular information on citizen concerns without leaving their offices, and also use the system to explain the constraints they face in resolving urban problems.

Public service agencies regard the system as an innovative means of providing outreach services which are otherwise conducted through staff visits. Public officials view the cable as a mechanism for obtaining citizen reaction on public policies and programs, while other service agencies use the two-way programming to disseminate information to clientele who are traditionally hard to reach. Evaluations of the project indicate that senior citizens' awareness of local issues increased as did their sense of political efficacy.14/

Although two-way interactive television presents many potential benefits for citizen participation, some critics worry that instant plebiscites could pose problems for our representative form of government, which rests on the idea of informed opinion. Cable itself poses problems; because of the number of channels it can deliver, citizens may be flooded with information.15/ One answer may be to use these electronic media as a supplement to broader educational efforts, making sure that there are opportunities for citizens to gain information and discuss issues at each step of the process.

Satellite Videoconferences.--Another development in communications technology with potential benefits for citizen education is the communication satellite. Video conferencing permits members of the Congress in Washington, D.C., to see, hear, and talk with groups of citizens at distant locations around the country. Congressional hearings have been conducted by means of the Communications Technology Sacellite, the public service research satellite operated jointly by the United States and Canada. In this and other experiments, participants found that citizen participation and feedback were increased, citizen interest in the legislative process was stimulated and time and energy saved. A major issue concerning the future use of videoconferences is whether public service needs will be given full consideration in satellite use.16/

Televising Legislative Activities.--In 1979, some debates of the U.S. House of Representatives were opened to television coverage. This experiment was based in part on the results of televised floor debates and committee hearings of the Florida Legislature, first conducted in 1973. Legislative activities were taped by the Florida public television system and from this information an hour's weekday evening broadcast was created for public television. The programs included excerpts from hearings and debates, votes, analysis, and interviews. Positive evaluations of the impact of these programs on legislators and adult viewers have resulted in the continuation of the experiment.17/

One study conducted by professors at Michigan State University tested the impact of six of these programs on high school students enrolled in civics and American history courses. Those students who saw the broadcasts demonstrated significant increases in their interest in State politics, in talking about politics, in reading about the legislature in newspapers, in political knowledge, and also developed more positive attitudes toward legislators and the legislative process.18/

In-Flight Humanities Channel.--The In-Flight Humanities Project at Northern Illinois University is testing the feasibility of a humanities channel on the in-flight entertainment systems of the Nation's airlines. The National Endowment for the Humanities has provided funds to develop 20-minute informal conversations among scholars on such subjects as political leadership and political socialization. The project represents an attempt to present university-level material in a form which will both entertain and educate the airline passenger. This media form holds potential both in providing the scholar with a broader audience for disseminating research findings and ideas, and in offering the airline passenger access to an informative discussion.

Developing Critical Viewing Skills.--Prime Time School Television (PTST), Chicago, Ill., was established to help teachers take greater advantage of the information sources provided by commercial television. PTST distributes guides to be used by teachers in conjunction with certain television programs, particularly "specials." In 1976, PTST piloted a program called Television, Police, and the Law for English and social studies classes. The project provides written materials for classroom use combined with a Constitutional Awareness Chart which students use as a checklist when watching police shows on television. The children are encouraged to form judgments about how realistic police shows are and to what degree the shows demonstrate violations of constitutional rights.

Combating Television Violence and Commercials.--The National Parent Teachers Association (PTA) is also developing curriculums to help schools sharpen students' viewing skills. This projects is an outgrowth of the 1976 National PTA Television Commission's investigation into television violence. The Commission reported negative effects of television violence on youth and that few young viewers possessed critical viewing skills.19/

Based on these findings, the PTA formulated an action plan designed to pressure advertisers, network and local station officials, and Commissioners of the Federal Communication Commission to reduce the amount of violence on television programs. Training programs were instigated to help PTA members monitor programs, to encourage parents to watch television with their children, and to provide members with information concerning techniques for making their views known in an effective manner.

Since initiation of the PTA's campaign, violence on television has been substantially reduced, due in part to the PTA's pressure and changing public taste.20/ Some television producers have complained, however, that the pressure brought by the PTA could lead to censorship and a stifling of creativity.

Action for Children's Television (ACT) is another citizen group that has been actively involved in influencing television programing. Launched by women who were concerned about the quality of the programs their children watched, ACT has grown into a national organization during the last 10 years. It has helped to reduce the number of commercials presented during an hour of Saturday morning children's programing (from 16 minutes an hour to 9½ minutes); it has pushed the networks to create a number of innovative programs; and it has had some effect on the amount of violence in children's cartoons.21/

Other groups involved in curriculums that would teach critical viewing skills and explore the potential of television as a teaching tool include the St. Mary's Center for Learning in Chicago, the National Education Association, the U.S. Office of Education, and the National Institute of Education.22/

Newspapers and Citizen Education.--The Courses by Newspaper project attempts to create widespread exposure to significant issues such as criminal justice, taxation, popular culture, and death and dying. Some

1,100 newspapers and 250 colleges and universities cooperate in bringing these courses to about 15 million readers. Weekly newspaper features offer initial explosure to an issue, while supplementary educational materials, college courses, and community forums provide opportunities for exploring the subject in greater depth.

Student Journalism.--Student-run newspapers provide a means of involving youth in the affairs of their communities. The Youth Communication/National Center in Chicago involves students from schools all over the city in journalism and hopes to develop a network of centers in urban areas. The Chicago center was established a year ago and has developed several major projects. One is New Expression, a monthly newspaper staffed entirely by high school students who are from various schools in the Chicago metropolitan area and who volunteer their time to write, publish, and distribute the paper. The paper has developed enough community support to continue publication with a circulation of more than 40,000. Other National Center publications include CETA Insights, which examines the the impact of this federally supported program on Chicago teenagers; and The Right of Way, a newspaper which informs Chicago students of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. The National Center begun by an RFK Fellow, and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Washington, D.C., which encourages the participation of young people in society, provides some assistance for Center activities.

VOLUNTARY/COMMUNITY GROUPS

The Role of Voluntary Groups in Citizen Development

A wide variety of groups influence citizens' political orientations.23/ Their importance depends on both the strength of the identification (i.e., the higher the identification and the more cohesive the grouping, the more important the group is likely to be) and the relevance of the group for the issue at hand

(e.g., Jews or Arabs and the Middle East; Catholics and the abortion issue).

Similar to family and peer group relationships, involvement in larger voluntary groups of associates can also serve as an important source of political information and ideas throughout life. One of the contributions voluntary groups make to political learning is to provide experiences and training in group relations and leadership skills that may be transferred to the political world.24/ Studies indicate that participation in voluntary groups is positively associated with higher levels of political interest, involvement, participation, and with a greater sense of political efficacy. Almond and Verba summarize their relevant findings in their five-nation study:

> Citizens who are members of a nonpolitical organization are more likely to feel subjectively competent than are those who belong to no organization. This, then, appears to confirm the fact that latent political functions are performed by voluntary associations, whether those organizations are political or not. Those who are members of some organization, even if they report that it has no political role, have more political competence than those who have no such membership.25/

Research on socialization generally suggests that the more social group affiliations one has, the stronger the tendency to participate in political activity.

Voluntary groups may vary substantially in character, purpose, structure, and accomplishments. Some groups have a national structure with local chapters (e.g., League of Women Voters), others are more centrally organized (e.g., Common Cause), and still others are community-based. Their constituency has changed over time. Today's volunteers represent a broader

cross section of the citizenry than the volunteers of a few decades ago. Social action-oriented services, leadership and advocacy roles attract consumers, youth, retirees, and professionals, providing them with opportunities to apply knowledge and make an impact on the lives of others. Alexis de Tocqueville saw American group associations as a bulwark against the tendency toward centralization of power and the tyranny of the majority, which he viewed as possible consequences of an egalitarian society.26/

The Growth of Citizen Action Groups

An increasing number of organizations can be characterized as part of the "citizen-action movement." The National Commission on Neighborhoods had identified more than 8,000 grassroots neighborhood organizations in the United States. One study has indicated that there are more than 100 national public interest groups who have offices in Washington, D.C.; the Office of Consumer Affairs of HEW has estimated that there are more than 450 consumer groups throughout the Nation; and others have identified some 350 environmental action organizations, about 500 senior citizen centers and clubs, and more than 840 mental health associations. The Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations, and Consumer Affairs of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development lists nearly 15,000 consumer and citizen groups.27/

All of these organizations provide some form of citizen education. Some have specific programs to educate members and/or the general public. Although subjects vary, they touch on all aspects of citizen education from rights and responsibilities, to public issues, to participation. Beyond workshops and formal training, through opportunities for active involvement with others, participatory skills are also developed, and a sense of efficacy and belonging fostered. There can be extrinsic and intrinsic purposes for participation, according to Dennis Thompson:

> Intrinsic purposes refer to the values that are promoted within the participatory process itself, more or less independently of the outcomes that participants seek to influence. Here we would locate educative values of participation, such as the development of political competence and knowledge, civic virtue, and a sense of legitimacy. . . . Extrinsic purposes focus on the outcomes, and include the expression of individual and group interests, as well as general interests or the public interest understood in terms of the outcomes of decisions or policies.28/

Satisfaction of extrinsic purposes depends on the outcome, the nature of the experience, and the importance of being involved with the cause itself.29/ Intrinsic benefits vary also but: "although available evidence is not conclusive, enough research has been completed to indicate that the self-realization effect of participation in decision-making is strong and consistent."30/

Who Participates?

In one major survey of American participation, Verba, Nie, and Kim asked people about 12 different kinds of political activity. They found that these involved four basic dimensions: voting, more extensive electoral activism, communal activity, and personal contacting. Each of these modes bore only a modest relationship to the others. There were some people who did everything (11 percent of the total were complete activists), and others who were entirely inactive (22 percent). Of the remaining participants, 21 percent were voting specialists, 20 percent active in solving community or group problems, 15 percent campaigners, and 4 percent were participants whose activity was limited to contacting public officials. Electoral activists differed from communalists; this qualitative differentiation was also found in other countries investigated by these authors.31/

Active participants are not representative of the society at large. According to Milbrath, "One of the most thoroughly substantiated propositions in all social science is that persons near the center of society are more likely to participate in politics then persons near the periphery."32/ Low-income citizens tend to participate less than those of higher socioeconomic status. In a summary of the research by Barry Checkoway and Jon Van Til, the authors state that while low-income and minority citizens participate less than "others who are closer to the fabric of American society, there is evidence among them of long-term increases in political self-awareness and efficacy, and of organized action groups employing skillful leaders and organizational tactics that increase their influence and win rewards."33/

Illustrative Programs and Activities

Ethnic Associations.--Some of the earliest voluntary groups in the United States were the ethnic associations which provided a basic orientation to citizenship for immigrants first arriving in the United States. Ethnic associations help both to retain a sense of group identity and to socialize immigrants to a new political environment. At the same time, they work as a political force to remove barriers of discrimination, and to advocate group interests both in the United States and, in some cases, on behalf of the country of origin. Ethnic group leaders serve as models for group members and mobilize them politically.

League of Women Voters.--A variety of civic groups provide their membership with information and skills about public issues. One such organization is the League of Women Voters, founded in 1920. The League's original purpose was to help prepare newly enfranchised women voters to exercise their rights. Today, the League serves all voters and operates through a decentralized network of State and local chapters. The League is nonpartisan in researching issues, but actively promotes any positions which have been taken.

While the League is well known for its analyses of the stands taken by electoral candidates and its monitoring of election activities, it also provides many training activities. For example, the Citizens Information Service (CIS) of Illinois was established by the League in 1953. This organization provides information about local public affairs, and helps community members learn about housing, schools, and other public issues. Upon request, CIS will set up a class on basic organizational skills, political education, community issues, or a combination of these. With the help of class members, CIS finds an appropriate discussion leader and resource persons. Class members than meet to learn to solve their own local problems. Since 1960, CIS classes have trained over 6,000 citizens. The organization plays a vital role in helping citizens in a large city locate the resources they need.

Religious Institutions.--Religious organizations provide both educational programs and a number of opportunities for citizen participation. One example is the Church Women United (CWU) which is a national movement of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox women who undertake campaigns aimed at alleviating serious social problems at home and abroad and actively attempt to influence government and business policies on issues of concern. Another group, the Commission on Voluntary Service and Action (CVSA), began in 1945 to coordinate activities for church agencies establishing work camps in postwar Europe. The organization continues today, placing volunteers throughout the world in response to economic and social problems.

Religious education may also include formal curriculums which relate religious beliefs to current social problems. "Doing the Word" is a multimedia program available from the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries. Instructional materials for children and adults treat such topics as ethical choices

for political and economic action, education for justice, world hunger, peace, and racism. Games, records, filmstrips, audiotapes, suggestions for community activity, and readings are included in these programs.

The Encampment for Citizenship, affiliated with the American Ethical Union, New York, is a 6-week summer program for youth between the ages of 16 and 19. Participants, who represent diverse religious, ethnic, socioeconomic, and geographic backgrounds, live and work together, exploring major social and political issues of the day. Community discussions, small group workshops, volunteer community service, and self-governance activities are designed to meet Encampment goals of developing greater awareness of self, others, and the world; promoting the notion that youth can make a difference in the quality of life, and training for political leadership. For more than 30 years, the Encampment has served as a training ground for governmental, political, educational, and civic leaders.

Grassroots Organizations in the 1970's--"The contemporary grassroots movement is new, growing, diverse, and effective. Although its lineage can be traced back to the social movements of the 1960's, the early Alinsky organizations of the 1950's, and the union struggles of the 1930's and 1940's, in its present form it is not yet a decade old. Most of the groups started in the early 1970's, and many are 5-years-old or less. They are growing in numbers and expanding in size so rapidly that any estimates of their size and numbers are outdated as quickly as they are calculated.

"Equally dramatic has been their expansion in scope and their ability to organize simultaneously on multiple levels--from tenants' unions, to block clubs, to neighborhood associations, to citywide and statewide coalitions, to multistate and regional alliances, to a national movement. They follow the range of issues that affect them and move adeptly back and forth

from problems on the block to those of Federal policy."34/

Based on a survey of grassroots organizations, Janice Perlman categorizes two major kinds of groups: (1) issue-oriented/direct action; and (2) self-help alternative institutions. Many successful groups combine both approaches and have learned to move from neighborhood to national issue, to organize and specialize, and to build coalitions with labor, other community groups, and public interest groups.

ORGANIZE, Inc., of California, one of a growing number of training programs for community organizers, provides workshops for the Citizens Action League (CAL), a multi-issue, grassroots organization. CAL makes use of direct action, participates in coalitions, and is seeking to build alliances between public employees and citizens.

The director of ORGANIZE, Mike Miller, states his organization's philosophy:

> It is through participation in voluntary associations that citizens have the opportunity to become participants in the real decisionmaking processes of society. Such associations, at the workplace, in the neighborhood, or organized around particular "issue" interests, provide the individual with a mechanism in which he or she can begin to exercise some power. . . . My experience with low and lower middle income people indicates that the first involvement of "average" people will be around problems that immediately affect them in their day-to-day lives. The task of the adult education workers, in this case community organizers, is to persuade the individual that his or her participation can lead to results.35/

Once citizens have decided to act on their complaint, their need for knowledge and skills grows. ORGANIZE, Inc., helps build such skills (e.g., negotiation, caucusing, compromise, communication, participation in meetings) through role-playing and simulation techniques.

A growing number of community organizations are developing active training programs. The Institute, which is associated with the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) is a national training and research center with headquarters in New Orleans and Little Rock. It trains leaders and staff from grassroots organizations as well as from religious groups, legal service organizations, community action programs or VISTA's and others working for social change. The Institute emphasizes learning by doing and ascribes to the approach of community organizing developed by ACORN. ACORN is an organization of low- and moderate-income families located in 14 different States. Its emphasis is on building grassroots support rather than on mobilizing coalitions of existing groups, and some 20,000 ACORN members are involved in resolving local, State, or regional problems. Two other training programs are at the Midwest Academy, in Chicago, and the National Congress of Neighborhood Women in New York. These devote particular attention to providing leadership skills to special groups such as women.

In Philadelphia, the Institute for the Study of Civic Values is based on the belief that a commitment to democratic values is central to the process of community organizing. Under the guidance of the Institute, neighborhood representatives are encouraged to establish standards for the kind of community they want to build, and to develop democratic procedures for upholding them. The Neighborhood Leadership Academy, a project of the Institute's, provides courses on community building which examine concrete issues related to mutual security, reciprocity, fellowship, and justice, and explore ways of realizing these in

local neighborhoods.

Resolving Community Disputes.--A similar desire to restore the values of civic responsibility has led to a search for alternatives to the criminal justice system. The Community Boards program, supported by local and foundation sources and initiated by the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, is one demonstration project which uses neighborhood panels to resolve local misdemeanor cases and community disputes.

Located in four San Francisco neighborhoods, the Community Board provides a mechanism for neighborhood residents to handle their own problems through solutions mutually agreed upon by the disputing parties. It encourages the use of peer pressure rather than law enforcement agencies in working out problems. The purpose is to develop an understanding of the situation and offer realistic and practical solutions.

Community members interested in serving on panels receive training in communication and conciliation techniques. Through roleplaying and other processes, they practice active listening, asking nonjudgmental questions, creating open and accepting environments, and diffusing emotional outbursts. Disputes are referred to neighborhood Community Board Offices by individuals or agencies. Board staff visit the parties involved and ask whether they would like to solve the matter privately or voluntarily attend a Community Board hearing. If the latter is chosen, a five-member panel is assembled from a pool of trainees, who are balanced by race, sex, age, and are representative of the neighborhood. Hearings operate according to established ground rules and include statements by each party, clarification of each other's position, discussion of possible resolution, and a formal recommendation which is signed by all involved.

There is no effort to assign blame; rather the panel tries to get the parties to understand each other's perspective and to accept responsibility for

their own actions. Because the Board has no official authority, it is nonthreatening to residents. While the Board mainly acts on individual problems, it has been involved in communitywide disputes. For example, it mediated an issue concerning the construction of a halfway house for senior citizens and succeeded in gaining community acceptance for what had initially been an unpopular decision.

Civic Empowerment.--A westside Chicago neighborhood group, organized 32 years ago to help ease the the process of racial integration, is still active, but in a somewhat different vein--educating its members to participate and become leaders in their community. The Midwest Community Council is built on a block club base, and supported by paid memberships and some foundation grants.

The Council has helped handle various crises in the low-income neighborhoods it serves. The hope is to manage crisis by promoting citizen education, through training neighborhood residents to oversee community needs in the areas of government, education, health and sanitation, crime, and housing. Under a new plan, the community will be divided into 10-block segments. Within each of these areas, "community officials" will represent residents' viewpoints and serve as a source of information for this predominantly black area. Nancy Jefferson, executive director of the Council, hopes that education and organization can be used to develop a more constructive approach to community problem solving in an area which has lost about half its population and much of its housing since the 1940's.

One Council activity is the Parent Union, an attempt to involve parents in the decisionmaking process of their children's education. The union brings parents into the schools as volunteers, informs them of their legal rights, and involves them in curriculum decisions.

Involving Parents in the Schools.--Other organizations are active nationwide in encouraging the involvement of parents in education. The Institute for Responsible Education (IRE), Boston, Mass., organized in 1973, focuses on citizen participation in education. IRE seeks ways in which citizens can be involved in school decisions in areas such as program, budget, and personnel. A quarterly news magazine, Citizen Action in Education, contains new models and ideas for citizen involvement in schools. A current project is investigating trends and developments in citizen participation and identifying promising and effective citizen organizations across the Nation.

The National Committee for Citizens in Education (NCCE), Columbia, Md., serves as a clearinghouse for 300 local affiliates that offer parents advice and contact on school-related matters. Through NCCE's Citizen Training Institute, local communities can receive specially designed training and technical assistance.

In Oakland, Calif., the Center for the Study of Parent Involvement is trying to improve contact among parent groups and is developing a program to help teachers learn how to work more closely with parents. And the National Coalition of Title I Parents, Washington, D.C., has worked since 1973 to make parent participation in the USOE-administered Title I program more effective.

The oldest organization in this area is, of course, the National Congress of Parents (PTA), now in its 81st year. The PTA has become an increasingly strong advocate for parents, more notably in the past few years with respect to violence on television (see page 103).

Excellence in Education (EXCEL), a subdivision of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), was designed by the Reverend Jesse Jackson. The program emphasizes a combination of hard work, self-discipline, self-respect and equal educational opportunity as the means

through which black Americans can achieve. The Reverend Jesse Jackson encourages parents and children to view education as part of family interaction and community participation, exacting promises from students to work harder and from parents to supervise carefully their children's schooling. Leadership from Rev. Jesse Jackson, signed pledges by teachers, parents, and students, group counseling sessions for students, and the assistance of a community liaison worker are basic components of PUSH/EXCEL which is at work in about a dozen communities. The program includes an emphasis on citizenship, with Rev. Jesse Jackson suggesting that graduating students should be given both a diploma and a voter's registration card.

School Volunteers.--The National School Volunteer Program (NSVP), Inc., Alexandria, Va., is a membership association including directors of school volunteer programs, volunteers, teachers, principals, superintendents, and colleges of education. The organization helps to make more effective the volunteer work of some 6 million school volunteers by sharing ideas for recruiting and training, program, development and evaluation, public relations, and other aspects of management. Training workshops, a newsletter, The School Volunteer, an information bank which carries descriptions of successful projects, and training materials for use in recruiting older adults or for working with handicapped students are among the major activities of NSVP.

Senior Citizens' Groups.--The elderly are becoming increasingly successful in affecting political decisions. Citizen-education activities for the older population are designed to provide them with an understanding of relevant public issues, the legislative process, lobbying skills, and organizing techniques.

In Missouri, a "Silver-Haired Legislature," composed of 200 citizens, is convened annually for 3 days in the chambers of the State legislature. Sponsored by the Missouri State Office on Aging, this exercise develops a senior citizen legislative program

that can be considered by the Missouri State Legislature during its session and provides a unique educational experience for the participants.

During the 3-day session, each member is assigned to a committee and given a procedural rule book. Each committee then considers bills in its area of jurisdiction. Summary reports are provided of each committee meeting, and the results are utilized to develop a senior citizen legislative program.36/

The Public Interest Movement.--"Public interest organizations are often defined as groups that seek 'common, collective, or public goods' that do not exclusively, materially, or selectively benefit their members. Open government, clean air, and freedom of information are examples of collective goods. . . . The activities of a public-interest constituency exist to advocate the larger public objectives left unrepresented by . . . narrow interests."37/

Public interest groups seek to enhance the "citizen's right to know, their ability to influence choices before they are narrowed to only one or two, and their influence in remedying abuses of power."38/ The public interest movement has become professional and successful, providing for its membership many opportunities for citizen development and education.

A number of public interest groups have been initiated by Ralph Nader. Among them are the Public Interest Research Groups (PIRG's) which are located on some 175 college campuses in 25 States and the District of Columbia. Participation in PIRG's activities enable college students to apply their classroom learning to public issues. About 500,000 students participate through financial support and active involvement in PIRG's projects.

Members of the District of Columbia's PIRG conducted 7 months of research into the issue of redlining. Their study documented savings and loan practices and included comparisons of income and sales ratios. The

study was partially responsible for the 1975 Federal Mortgage Disclosure Act which requires disclosure on a quarterly basis by census tract.

In 1977, 25 PIRG's decided to form a national organization to coordinate some joint activities and help form new PIRG's. Among the current projects of the PIRG National Clearinghouse is the issue of standardized testing. Project participants will research the subject in depth, and then develop model legislation and action strategies related to their position.

Common Cause is a well-known interest group. Founded in 1970, this voluntary association has been successful in campaigning for election reforms, sunshine laws, and changes in the seniority system in Congress. Generally, it takes up issues of national importance, is active in electoral politics, and provides information about public issues to its membership.

Common Cause operates through a 60-member Governing Board elected for 3-year terms by its membership. Based on an annual membership referendum, the Board meets four times a year to determine which of the isssues rated high priority by members should be acted upon by its lobbyists in Washington, D.C. The organization estimates that some 30,000 of its 230,000 members are "activists," working as volunteers in the national headquarters, or as citizen lobbyists in their States and local communities.

Professional Associations.--Several professional associations have been active in citizen education. Their activities range from position statements on behalf of citizen education to resource and dissemination centers, conference and workshops, publications, and the sponsorship of curriculum development.

The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) has had a central commitment to citizen education

since its founding in 1921. Some 18,000 social studies teachers, supervisors, and university educators comprise its membership. Since May 1975, the Council has focused on citizenship as its major priority. The revised NCSS guidelines for social studies emphasize the preparation of "humane, rational, participating citizens in a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent."39/ Commitment to human dignity, knowledge, the rational process, and action are keystones of the social studies curriculum as presented in these guidelines which were released in April 1979. NCSS publications, State, regional and national conferences, and position statements on social studies and citizenship have all helped make known the Council's interest in this field.

The Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC) in Boulder, Colo., is another major source of information on citizen education. SSEC is operated in conjunction with the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies and Social Sciences, and is a membership organization with a staff and a publications program. The staff provides technical assistance for school districts working to improve social studies, including assessment, goals and objectives statements, content, evaluation, inservice training, and so on.

Since 1971, the American Bar Association's Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship (YEFC) has provided a national clearinghouse, coordination, and consulting services in law-related education. The YEFC has produced a wide variety of materials on practical ways to begin and sustain law-related education programs. Its publications include a Directory of Law-Related Education Projects, three curriculum catalogs, books on teacher education, fund raising and program development, and a magazine, Update on Law-Related Education. YEFC has also produced a film, "To Reason Why," which documents the need for law-related education and indicates ways in which communities can develop programs.

Among the major projects of YEFC is an elementary school project which seeks to integrate law and the humanities, involving some eight curriculum projects throughout the country and supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. In addition, the Special Committee has recently begun a 2-year pilot program to promote education in law and juvenile justice under a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, a major funding source for law-related education in recent years. Participants in this project include the Constitutional Rights Foundation, Law in a Free Society, National Street Law Institute, the Children's Legal Rights Information and Training Project, and Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity International.

In 1970, the American Political Science Association (APSA) established a Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The Committee provides a linkage between political science and the schools, and encourages the use of political science knowledge in the improvement of elementary and secondary education.

With funding from the National Science Foundation, the APSA Committee developed the groundwork for two major citizen-education curriculum projects--one at the elementary level, the other for high school students. The first--an investigation of political learning in childhood, needs for citizenship in contemporary society, and criteria for elementary level curriculum--led to the Citizenship Decision-Making Project at the Mershon Center (see p. 67). The high school component was developed at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University. The resulting textbook, "American Government: Comparing Political Experiences," has recently been released by a commercial publisher. The curriculum focuses on research, thinking, and participation skills for citizenship in interest-group activities, State and local politics, the national political system, and global political systems. The textbook is designed for 12th-grade American Government courses.

The APSA also seeks to improve the teaching of political science in colleges and universities. It has conducted professional development programs, sponsored seminars and monographs on ethical issues and political life, and undertaken analyses of college textbooks. The APSA also publishes News for Teachers of Political Science, which is aimed at helping improve instruction about politics in universities and colleges.

The Foreign Policy Association (FPA) was founded in 1918 to provide public education on foreign affairs, in the belief that an informed public is necessary for conducting foreign relations in a democracy. For the past 25 years, FPA has run the Great Decisions Program which reaches more than 100,000 people each year. The core of the program is the annual Great Decisions book which presents articles on eight of the most important foreign affairs decisions of the year that face the American Government and people. The articles provide information and arguments pro and con but do not advocate a particular position. The idea is to provide basic material from which citizens can make up their own minds.

The Great Decisions Program is carried on in small discussion groups. After discussion, the participants fill out ballots that indicate their conclusions, and these ballots are then analyzed and tabulated by a professional public opinion polling organization at Columbia University. The final tabulations are presented to the White House, the U.S. Department of State, and the Congress as an especially valuable reflection of the views of a significant, well-informed segment of the American public. The Great Decisions Program is carried out in colleges and universities, high schools, civic organizations, senior citizen centers, and a number of other groups.

From time to time, FPA does a special publication on particular issues of the day. In 1978, this was done regarding the Panama Canal treaties and FPA both

produced a book and sponsored town meetings in a number of cities across the Nation to inform the public and assist them in forming opinions regarding the Canal issue. In 1979, this process will focus on the SALT treaties.

THE WORKPLACE: BUSINESS AND LABOR UNIONS*

Business and labor conduct a variety of activities aimed at improving community life, developing skills of employees or members, educating students and adults about business or labor priorities, and influencing public policy. Some of these activities are explicitly designed to gain public support for union or business goals--greater productivity, higher profits, increased and supportive membership, commitment to the free enterprise system or the trade union movement. Others are educational efforts that provide expertise, discussion, or training in a variety of contexts.

There has been little research about the relationship between work and politics. A classic study on union democracy documents the potential for developing democratic citizenship experiences and worker participation through the union structure.40/ The preliminary findings of an ongoing project suggest a positive relationship between participation in the workplace and enterprise politics, and that these experiences are mutually reinforcing.41/ Another study has related work experiences to political attitudes and behavior. Where aspirations related to work are unrealized, it concluded, it is not uncommon to find some bitterness and alienation among workers that is reflected in a

*Most of the business and labor union program examples are drawn from the following publication: Citizen Education Staff, "Examining the Role of the Workplace in Citizen Education," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

reduced sense of political efficacy. Such workers tend to participate less in elections and, when they do vote, tend to support extremist or "protest" candidates.42/

Quality of Worklife Experiments

Quality of worklife programs, which began in western Europe and Scandinavia, feature management and union collaboration in improving the design, structure, and organization of the workplace. Program goals are to produce greater job satisfaction, increase productivity, improve the quality of output, eliminate hierarchies, and to develop democratic procedures in decisionmaking.

There is a growing literature on the impact of these experiments. Measured outcomes include a significantly greater sense of control over working conditions by employees, growth in cooperative decisionmaking skills, and an understanding of corporate and industrial realities. Absenteeism has dropped and productivity has increased in many plants.43/

Illustrative Programs Sponsored by Business

Many business-sponsored programs bearing on citizen education arise in response to specific problems or needs. The company's goals and interest, the type of activity that is undertaken, the nature of the sponsor (local plant, urban business, multinational corporation), the relationship of the corporation to its surrounding community, and the support given by corporate management to the program, all act to produce diversity in business citizen-education activities.

Economic education is seen as the activity most closely related to business goals. Like other societal institutions, business is experiencing a decline in public confidence and trust. This decline adversely affects employee morale, private investment, and in some cases leads to Government regulation of

business.44/ While some critics feel that such distrust has its roots in corporate behavior, a number of business leaders believe that a sound public understanding of the economic system and of the role corporations play in a democracy would increase support of business.45/ While the bulk of business activity related to citizen education falls under economic education, other pertinent areas include political education and community service.

Economic Education.--The Joint Council on Economic Education, New York, is an organization staffed by professional educators and supported by business, labor, agriculture, and industry. The Council conducts surveys of needs in economic education and stimulates and coordinates programs at all educational levels through a network of State affiliates. (see also page 140.)

A number of corporations actively develop materials about economics for use in public schools and elsewhere. Some of these seek to present a balanced view, while others promote the free enterprise system.46/ Much of what is offered as economic "education" is perhaps better described as corporate advertising. Irving Kristol distinguished between "advertising" and "education" as follows:

> . . . advertising is precisely the wrong vehicle for any kind of education. Education, properly understood, induces a growing comprehension of abstract ideas and concepts; advertising, properly understood, aims to move people to do something definite and unambiguous. Education is always raising questions; advertising is always giving answers.47/

In contrast to an advertising technique such as issue advertising which presents information to the public in support of a corporation's position on a

particular issue (e.g., the "low" level of profits, the "high" costs of government regulations) is Continental Group's Economic Education Course. This is a university-based course for teachers, congressional aides, regulatory agency personnel, journalists, and others. Sessions are moderated by university faculty and include weekly presentations by corporate specialists followed by extensive question and answer periods. A team of professors and economists has evaluated the course in terms of effectiveness and objectivity to determine whether such issues as "business morality" and "social responsibility" have been adequately examined. This course is now offered in a number of universities nationwide.

Political Education and Involvement.--Since the 1975 Federal Election Committee's action approving Sun Oil's plan for more open corporate political activity, "Political Action Committees"(PAC's) have proliferated. While PAC's are essentially vehicles for corporate money-raising to support candidates favorable to their interests, some PAC's provide political education and opportunities for participation.

One of these is Sun Co.'s Responsible Citizenship Program. In addition to voluntary fund-raising through its PAC, the basic unit of Sun's program is the Local Political Council, the purpose of which is to stimulate effective participation in the political system. These Councils, organized and led by employees, concentrate on such activities as voter registration, political rallies for all parties, political-economic seminars, and a host of other community-oriented political and governmental activities. Corporate staff has not dictated the agendas for these Councils, preferring to let each determine the nature of its activities, and draw on corporate staff for technical assistance.

To stimulate employee interest in political participation and to teach employees about the political system, First Bank System (Minneapolis) launched its

Practical Politics Seminars in 1976. Using well-known political leaders as teachers and discussion leaders, the seminars are held in the bank's local branch offices and are usually attended by 15 to 20 people.

Community Service.--A small number of executives and employees are involved in community-service activities through social-service-leave programs, community relations outreach, and volunteerism.

Babcock and Wilcox (B & W) has for several years been conducting "community audits" in those communities where it has plants. These audits consist of a corporate community relations specialist spending time in the community, interviewing a sample of leaders and citizens. The resulting "audit" summarizes the most pressing problems facing the community, and recommends how the company's local management might, with help of employee volunteers, address those problems. A subsequent "Community Action Plan" is developed by a team of employees to follow up on these recommendations with specific types of community involvement. Several specific programs have resulted from these efforts. One example is the company's intensive involvement with the school system in one of B & W's plant communities (Beaver Falls, Pa.). Similar programs exist at Levi Strauss, Allis-Chalmers, Union Carbide, and Honeywell.

Located in New York City, the Volunteer Urban Consulting Group (VUCG) is a nonprofit consulting firm which assists nonprofit organizations and minority small businesses in solving business and management problems, through creating volunteer consulting teams from area corporations. The VUCG combines the skills of a small professional staff with hundreds of business volunteers. The VUCG serves as a liaison between organizations which have specific problems, and business employees who wish to volunteer their business skills to assist such groups. A similar organization exists in Minneapolis, and one is currently in the planning stages in Milwaukee.

As part of community outreach endeavors, a number of corporate representatives are eager to work cooperatively with school systems. Beyond their interest in economic education, businesses have some interest in sharing management skills with schools to see the most efficient use made of their tax dollars, and to insure that public school graduates have appropriate employment skills.

Illustrative Programs Sponsored by Labor

Some 22 million Americans belong to labor unions. Some members of the labor movement characterize the union as a microcosm of society which establishes rules of employment through negotiation with management, applies those rules, and appeals their abridgment. Through an established political process, union representatives are selected. In order to instruct their membership in their rights and responsibilities on the job--more specifically in the collective bargaining process--numerous training programs are provided, particularly for union leadership.

Union membership can provide opportunities for citizen education in four distinct settings. These are:

1. The workplace--job citizenship
2. The internal union government--organizational citizenship
3. The public--community and political citizenship
4. The individual--personal citizenship.

Labor education today focuses on leadership. It has been estimated that annually leadership education fails to reach 10 percent of its target. Of the 213 national and international unions that represent workers in the United States and Canada, only about 25 percent of them have ongoing education programs. There are 44 university- or college-based programs in the United States.48/

Labor Studies.--Local, international, or confederations of unions, sometimes in conjunction with a college or university, offer a variety of labor studies courses. The Union Leadership Academy (ULA) is one such program, a joint effort of the AFL-CIO, 12 local unions, and 5 universities. Twenty-five ULA centers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia offer courses in trade union administration and leadership. The curriculum is wide-reaching, including analytic skills, economics, government, and social issues.

The AFL-CIO operates two separate educational programs: the George Meany Labor Studies Center in Silver Spring, Md., which offers a wide variety of courses for union members; and the Department of Education of AFL-CIO, which prepares materials for labor-education programs, maintains a film library, and conducts conferences and special programs. One such program is the Human Relations Development Institute which assists the disadvantaged, the underemployed, and veterans. The Institute helps such individuals obtain skills and better understand the work process and society in order to have a better chance of obtaining and keeping a job.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) also has an Education Department which engages in comparable activities and operates a Family Educational Center at Black Lake, Mich.

Community Services.--The AFL-CIO Community Services Committee seeks to advance the well-being of union members in their community. Joseph Beirne, longtime committee chairman, said of the program: "Perhaps through its role as a 'people's lobby,' advancing a broad range of interests and goals through the political, legislative, and social welfare activities, labor can serve as a spokesman for all people."49/ In order to see that local agencies adequately serve union membership, labor leadership is well represented on boards of organizations like the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, or the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Labor has also been represented since the 1960's on community boards mandated by the Federal Government. Some examples are: The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs established community action boards or councils; the Model Cities Act called for elected neighborhood task forces and citizens' community councils; the Revenue Sharing Act required similar citizen representation instruments.

Labor functionaries have served on these boards and have involved themselves in major institutional responsibilities. In 1966, for instance, the Cincinnati Central Labor Council placed representatives on the OEO-created Metropolitan Community Action Board. Out of this representation came union-sponsored, job-training programs for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Union representatives were also trained to help residents of working class neighborhoods articulate their needs to city government.

In addition to these community activities, labor was involved in plans during the 1960's to form community or neighborhood unions of low-income people based on a trade model. This effort was launched by the Industrial Unions Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO. The program had mixed success because of conflict with civil rights groups, the difficulty of mobilizing low-income people, and tactics that were more combative than constructive. Yet, it was one of the most creative endeavors of labor in the post-World War II era.

Political Education.--Because public policy impinges upon labor's collective bargaining relationships, its internal governing process, and its programs to improve the quality of community services, labor has developed opportunities for members to be involved in political activity on behalf of the union movement. Labor designs its own legislative and political programs to express its needs and concerns to the larger American polity.

Its political action programs engage members in election campaigns, registration and get-out-the-vote drives, publication of voting records and other election issues materials, coalitions with sympathetic interest groups, financial and personnel support for endorsed candidates, and fund-raising.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) lobbies on behalf of union concerns and also conducts educational programs for union members. On specific issues of importance to unions, such as labor reform, COPE conducts major campaigns designed to gain public support. Other programs are designed to meet the public policy needs of members. District 7 of the United Steelworkers of America, for example, brings groups of members to Washington to meet and discuss their concerns with their congressional representatives.

GOVERNMENT AND CITIZEN DEVELOPMENT

Government at all levels from local to international influences citizen education. The ability of citizens to affect public affairs is determined not only by their knowledge, skills, and attitudes, but also by the kinds of opportunities and information available to them. Public officials to a large extent determine the quality and quantity of citizen participation.

Two areas of activity in government are critical to the issue of citizen education. One is the "citizen involvement" movement. In recent years a series of activities, government mandates and agreements have been designed to involve citizens in improving and supporting administrative decisions and government programs. They include a variety of mandates for citizen participation in government, and involve a growing number of citizen participation specialists.50/ The nature of the experience which these activities provide affects citizens' perception of government, and their ability to participate in it.

In addition, a number of government programs include a citizen-education component. These range from grants to help low-income citizens participate more effectively in the delivery of government services, to seminars with public officials, to federallyfunded public dialogs over national issues. While no major government program is designed to advance civic competencies, fragments of many programs, each tailored to meet agency priorities, contribute in some way.

Citizen Involvement.

Thirty years ago the Administrative Procedures Act established the first Federal requirements for citizen involvement. Today, hundreds of mandates and regulations promote citizen participation. Two methods are widely used--testimony at public hearings on proposed rules or regulations for Federal programs and citizens' advisory councils. Critics of the process state that both vehicles are limited in impact, and that alternative means should be devised to make citizen participation "an interactive communication process between the agency staff, officials and the public."51/ Such a process could include three steps: (1) providing adequate information to the public about the issue and alternatives for solution or action; (2) gathering information from the public regarding their goals, values, interests, concerns, and opinions, and (3) documenting and using information from the public in planning and decisionmaking.52/

In an attempt to broaden the spectrum of participation in agency hearings, Federal agencies, including the Federal Trade Commission, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the National Highway Safety Administration, have developed experimental programs to reimburse citizen groups for the costs of participation. The Federal Trade Commission's program, in effect since enactment of the Magnusen Moss Warranty Act in 1975,

funds public participation in FTC hearings. The criteria under which funds will be provided are as follows: (1) a unique viewpoint will be heard, which otherwise would not be available; (2) the applicant cannot afford to participate without financial assistance; and (3) the group has a direct interest in the hearings. A proposal to institutionalize comparable procedures for all agencies is Bill S. 270, introduced in 1978 by Senators Kennedy and Mathias. Known as The Public Participation in Federal Agency Proceedings Act, the bill would

> provide financial assistance to facilitate participation by citizens who can make important contributions to agency proceedings. . . . [T] he bill permits Federal Courts to reimburse persons who bring successful lawsuits to challenge agency decisions . . . where a Court concludes that the action vindicates important public interests.53/

Several regulatory reform bills, as well as a revised version of S. 270, are under consideration by the 96th Congress.

There have been a number of other attempts to develop more meaningful citizen participation. The Army Corps of Engineers has experimented with innovative public meetings and has undertaken an extensive public involvement training for agency personnel. The National Park Service has developed an "Inform and Involve" program to increase citizen involvement in agency proceedings. The Food and Drug Administration is sponsoring a law school program to teach students how to influence effectively the policy process of the Food and Drug Administration. It is also working under interagency agreement with the Community Services Administration to gain access to Hispanic communities so that training programs can be conducted there. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has made Operation Common Sense a major priority. This project is designed to convert the legalese of Government regulations to comprehensible English.

The U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1978 established a National Neighborhood Information Sharing Exchange to collect, organize, and disseminate information on neighborhood revitalization organizations and resources. Users of the exchange will be able to locate profiles of neighborhood organizations, annotated bibliographies, lists of technical assistance experts, and a summary of Federal programs.

More than 200 professionals from various Federal agencies have formed the Interagency Council on Citizen Participation. This group sponsored a conference on citizen participation held in 1976, the proceedings for which are avilable in the publication "At Square One." The group also cosponsored the National Conference on Citizen Participation held in September 1978 (see page 139).

Citizen Participation in Education.

In the area of education there are numerous Federal and State mandates for citizen participation. A study conducted by the Institute for Responsive Education (IRE), Boston, Mass., reports seven states with recent legislation mandating citizen participation in planning or evaluating school programs. For example: required to develop a plan insuring "a thorough and efficient education" for students, the New Jersey legislature has mandated citizen involvement in district and school goal-setting. In California, the 1973 Early Childhood Education program requires parent involvement in the classroom program and in program evaluation. In order to gain accreditation by the Texas Education Agency, each school district must involve the public in setting school district goals. IRE reports, however, that in spite of commitments such as those shown above, "Participatory mechanisms are seldom directly linked to bread-and-butter programs of funding, assessment, or reporting."54/

Public participation is seldom mentioned beyond the initial planning stages. Most mandates do not include funds for training. IRE emphasizes that

in several laws and regulations there are specific references to the needs and rights of committees for information, training, or assistance, but only in rare exceptions do the citizens groups believe that they are given adequate help, information, or training.55/

Setting Goals for the Future.

Over the past 12 years more than 50 State, local, and regional governments have launched programs to establish future community goals. In projects such as Alternatives for Washington, Hawaii 2000, Goals for Georgia, and the like, thousands of citizens have studied the problems and opportunities of their communities, set goals for their desired future, and prepared plans for reaching mutual objectives. The programs have employed a variety of techniques in setting goals and priorities--use of newspaper supplements, television programs, research studies, small group discussion, etc.--to familiarize citizens with the issues and allow them to record their choices. A number of the programs have produced specific legislative proposals and resulted in citizen committees which monitor progress toward reaching these goals.

According to the former director of one such program, Brythe Godbold, success of goals programs depends on several factors: (1) community leadership should start and organize goal programs; (2) all citizens should be urged to participate; (3) a systems approach should be used, and it should not be designed to solve a specific, short-term problem; (4) the program should be long range, extending over at least several years; (5) representatives of all major organizations in the community should be involved in the process from the beginning, no single group controlling the process; and (6) a small but qualified staff is required, as is adequate funding.56/

Citizen-Education Programs.

The Federal Government supports a number of programs which provide resources for citizen education. Of these, only one, the smallest USOE-supported program--Ellender fellowships of the Close-Up Foundation --is specifically and exclusively designed to provide civic competencies. The Close-Up Foundation enables students and teachers from all over the country to undertake an intensive, 1-week experience in Washington, D.C., where the Federal Government is viewed "close-up" through meetings with representatives from the Congress, with lobbyists, journalists, and the like. State and community adaptations of Close-Up have been initiated by a number of program participants upon their return from Washington.

Other federal citizen-education programs vary in content according to the priorities of the sponsor. For example, the Community Services Administration has developed a small grants program which encourages community-action agencies to find new ways of effectively involving the poor in community activities. Evaluation, coalition-building, leadership development, and communitywide planning are some of the eligible activities.

The National Institute of Education (NIE) has awarded contracts for dissemination to practitioners of research and promising practices related to citizen-education issues. At Research for Better Schools (RBS), Philadelphia, an NIE grant is supporting a Citizen Education component which works with State planning groups and local school improvement teams in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, to create prototypic citizen-education programs, evaluate their effectiveness, and disseminate the results for use by other schools. Several field research projects are being conducted as part of the project to determine what schools and communities mean by "citizenship" and to evaluate the processes through which the schools and RBS improve citizen education.

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) supports educational and public activities in the humanities, which includes law, history, ethics, political theory, and other such subjects concerned with questions of value. Curriculum programs and public dialogs which emphasize humanistic elements of law, global interdependence, public policy, and civic participation have all been funded by the NEH.

Science for Citizens, administered by the National Science Foundation, is designed to encourage citizens and scientists to work together on science-related public policy issues. It presents a model of collaboration designed to provide citizens with the technical background they need, and to provide scientists with a broader understanding of the social impact of science and technology. Program activities include citizens' forums, conferences, and workshops, as well as public-service science residencies which offer grants that enable individual scientists to work with citizen groups.

The Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) provides support for educational programs designed to reduce juvenile delinquency and improve the justice system. Many projects in law-related education have been funded by the LEAA and, in particular, by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention which has a mandate for research, development, evaluation, training, and dissemination.

Within the U.S. Office of Education, the major source of funds for citizen education has been title IV-C of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under this mandate, as amended in 1978, citizen education, like any other educational activity which is likely to remediate a pressing educational problem, can receive support depending on the way in which a State's title IV-C priorities are determined. Title IV-C offers a rare and flexible opportunity for developing comprehensive citizen-education programs, including curriculum development and teacher training.

In 1978, about 27 States were using Title IV-C funds for citizen-education projects. Citizen-education projects, however, account for only a very small percentage of these available title IV-C funds. The bulk of the projects are in math, reading, or improved instructional techniques.

The National Diffusion Network provides a mechanism whereby school districts can learn about exemplary federally funded educational programs and receive assistance to help adapt and install programs to suit their own needs. In 1978, only 1 of the 210 approved projects was in citizen education (see page 79).

The Adult Education Act has made possible the development of a test of adult proficiency in government and law (see page 43). Several States are now using a portion of their Adult Education Act funds to refine these competencies and develop citizenship programs.

Other U.S. Office of Education programs focus on specific topics related to public issues. Mandates for environmental education, consumer education, women's equity, international studies, university/community services, and ethnic heritage studies each provide some relevant activities. Details on these and other programs are contained in "An Analysis of the Role of the U.S. Office of Education and Other Selected Federal Agencies in Citizen Education," Ann Maust and Lucy Knight, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

MULTISECTOR ACTIVITIES

The programs previously described have, for the most part, involved one sector of society as sponsor (e.g., school, media, workplace) and one aspect of citizen education (e.g., economics, politics, participation). While these activities provide a variety and richness to citizen education, they tend to compete with each other, and may result in repetitious effort. An increasing number of groups are showing an interest in collaborative activities on aspects of citizen

education. Several examples follow.

The Alliance for Citizen Education.--This organization evolved from the 1976 national conference on citizenship education, held in Kansas City, Mo., and sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education and the Chief State School Officers. The Alliance represents a coalition of labor, church, youth, and neighborhood organizations with an interest in this field. With its headquarters in Philadelphia, the Alliance publishes a bulletin and has held several meetings where representatives of different sectors come together to learn about each other's activities and explore avenues for collaboration. Regional meetings are being planned for 1978-79 with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities and other public and private sources.

Citizen Participation.--A National Conference on Citizen Participation was held in September 1978, organized by the Tufts University Lincoln-Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs. Sponsors were Common Cause, the Interagency Council on Citizen Participation, League of Women Voters Education Fund, National Association of Neighborhoods, National League of Cities, National Municipal League, United Way of America, and the Urban League. Conference participants included Government employees and other professionals with responsibilities for citizen-participation programs, representatives of civic and public interest groups, scholars studying citizen participation, and others.

An analysis of the key issues and research in this growing area of concern was produced for the conference.57/ The Lincoln-Filene Center staff is planning to publish the conference report, a magazine on citizen participation, and an annual source book on major legislation, programs, publications, and research.

School-Based Collaboration.--Some school-based citizenship efforts have attempted to broaden

representation in their program planning. The law-related education projects are frequently a combined effort of the bar, law enforcement and social welfare representatives, civic leaders, and educators. The Mid-America Center for Global Perspectives, located at the Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, has worked with the media, business and labor, and civic groups to identify the international linkages which characterize American communities today. Among the Center's projects is its Indianapolis in the World, which provides information on trade, travel, origins, employment patterns, and so forth, characterizing the relationship of that city with other parts of the world.58/

The National Commission on Resources for Youth, Inc.--Located in New York City, the Commission is a national information network on youth participation. Established in 1967, the Commission is supported by educators, business, social scientists, lawyers, and judges. A national network of more than 150 Associates includes teachers, community workers, scholars, trainers, writers, and others with concern for youth. These individuals serve as field consultants, trainers, evaluators, and writers. Government, private grants, and corporate donations fund the work of the commission.

The Commission collects, catalogues, and evaluates information about youth-participation programs. For the more than 1,000 programs which the Commission has validated as exemplary, case studies are developed and distributed. The Commission has conducted demonstration programs and helps to develop new youth-participation programs.

The Joint Council on Economic Education.--The Council is a New York-based organization staffed by professional educators and supported by business, labor, agriculture, and industry. Established in 1949, the Council encourages economic education at all levels. It works through a network of 49 affiliated State councils and serves as a clearinghouse for communication and dissemination. The State Councils organize

university-based Centers for Economic Education, which provide one-half released time for an economics professor who serves as Center director. The approximately 170 Centers assist more than 400 school systems throughout the country in improving their curriculum and staff development. In return for the technical assistance provided for them, the cooperating schools are asked to support a coordinator for economic education activities, and to work with a community board representative of the local economic structure. Among the functions of community advisory boards have been identifying resource persons to work with the schools, engendering community support for economic education, and attempting to insure objectivity of the economic education program.

The Education Commission of the States (ECS).--The ECS is a nonprofit organization funded in 1966 through an interstate compact. Forty-six States, American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands are members of the compact which brings together governors, State legislators, citizens, and educators to work for the improvement of education at all levels. In 1978, the ECS reported the results of its National Assessment of Educational Progress citizenship survey which measured the political knowledge and attitudes of more than 88,000 students. In addition, the ECS staff prepared an issue paper on citizenship education which calls for State, Federal, and local leadership.59/

These and other similar programs serve to encourage those who believe that renewed efforts in citizen education depend on discussion, exchange, and collaboration among those who, possessing different views and backgrounds, share a common concern about citizenship in the United States.

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CHAPTER 5

REAFFIRMING THE NEED

The vitality of a democratic society rests upon the informed, reflective commitment of its citizenry. It requires a knowledgeable public; one capable of exerting influence in public affairs. The need for civic competencies is everywhere apparent: individuals encounter daily the responsibilities of citizenship, as public officials seeking to mediate conflicting interests, as citizens anxious to improve a deteriorating neighborhood, or as prospective voters attempting to evaluate candidates and policies.

Education for thoughtful, active citizenship is a complex task engaging every sector of society. Citizen education has long been a major goal of public education, mandated by State statutes and taught in every school in the Nation. Yet, as we have seen, traditional conceptions of citizenship appear inadequate for contemporary societal conditions. Changing circumstances demand new approaches to citizen education.

Modes of socialization have been drastically altered. Citizen roles are learned from a variety of agents -- personal and impersonal -- many of them emitting contradictory messages. Thus, while a teacher provides instruction about national heroes, a television newscast reveals the corruption of leadership. Educators must take into account these contradictions.

American citizenship was originally extended only to landed, white males. Citizen education today must meet the needs of all Americans, including those who until very recently were excluded from the rights of citizenship. Black Americans are . . .

> The only citizens in the history of this country who had to endure death (literally) simply to establish the constitutional right

> to vote. . . . Even after the passage of 15th Amendment in 1970, it stood 95 years before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 moved black suffrage perceptibly forward.1/

Women were not granted suffrage until 1920 and the advocacy of an equal rights amendment to the Constitution is evidence that many people feel women are still denied some rights of citizenship. In addition, language barriers have impeded a number of citizens from exercising the most basic forms of political participation.

Global interdependence has created a new dimension to citizenship, recasting its traditional preoccupation with the nation state. In addition, the growth of government has expanded the boundaries of the "public" domain, so that citizens seeking to interpret highly technical information about the many issues that constitute public affairs must rely heavily on specialists and the media.

Confidence in major societal institutions and leadership is in decline. Many Americans are turning away from traditional forms of political participation (e.g., partisan politics) and seeking other avenues of expression and influence. A distrust of conventional authority and a cynicism about leadership and the "public interest" erode our ability to reach national consensus. The result is a display of disparate values or a search for community within small, narrowly defined groups. There is a new emphasis on privatism and special interest, or "single issue," politics.

Plans for citizen education today must take into account these changing circumstances and provide a mechanism for reexamining the role of the citizen. There is evidence that prevalent forms of citizen education are inadequate. Less than half of the Nation's adults are functionally competent citizens, according to one national survey.2/ The results of another indicate that over the past 7 years, our students have suffered significant declines in their

political knowledge and attitudes, decreases far greater than comparable studies of other content areas. These declines are demonstrated in areas of basic competence such as the ability to explain what a democracy is, the knowledge that Senators are elected, and the equal application of civil liberties to all citizens regardless of the popularity of their opinions. In addition, some segments of the population score consistently lower on citizenship assessments than others. These include inner-city poor and minorities.3/

The numerous and varied programs described in chapters 3 and 4 provide evidence of a growing interest in citizen education. Such activities are not confined to program development, but also include a number of significant policy statements or actions at a State, regional, or national level.

RECENT INITIATIVES

Numerous developments in citizen education have occurred within the past 5 years. Some of them are:

- Since 1973, about one-half of the States have passed legislation related to citizen education.

- About one-third of the States enacting competency testing have included citizenship as a component.

- In 1976, the Committee on Citizenship Education of the Chief State School Officers issued a bulletin on "Effective Citizenship Education: A Basic Goal of Education in the United States." Listing seven goals for citizenship education, the Council provided a series of suggestions for its improvement.4/ A national conference on citizen education followed the position statement.

- The Danforth and Kettering Foundations' 1977 study, "Education for Responsible Citizenship," called for national leadership and made a number

of recommendations for improving citizen education.5/

o The Education Commission of the States has prepared an issue paper on the problems and programs of citizen education. It calls for commitment, research, the development of conceptual models, an information network, and training programs. The Commission is also planning to reassess and integrate the areas of citizenship and social studies during the 1980-81 school year.

o The 1978 Federal mandates, authorizing programs in law-related education and population education as well as a first-time appropriation for teaching citizens about other cultures and nations (authorized in 1976), are likely to increase the number of USOE-administered programs that help provide citizens with knowledge and skills related to public affairs and political participation.

o Bill H.R. 3443, introduced by Rep. Carl Perkins (D-Ky.) and Rep. Charles Bennett (D-Fla.) in April 1979, proposes a State grants program to promote citizenship education in elementary and secondary schools. A similar bill is expected to be introduced in the Senate by Senator Jennings Randolph (D-W.Va.) during the 96th Congress.

o Project '87, under the joint sponsorship of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, will commemorate the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. The project involves scholarly research on the impact of the Constitution on the United States and other countries, as well as a series of public education programs.

o The Alliance for Citizen Education, Philadelphia, Pa., is encouraging regional meetings and collaboration among the education activities of labor unions, neighborhood, religious, and youth groups.

o A multistate consortium for citizen education in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania has been established. A second one--involving Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island--is seeking funding support.

o Two projects--one sponsored by Research for Better Schools (Philadelphia, Pa.), and the other directed jointly by the Social Science Education Consortium (Boulder, Colo.) and the Mershon Center at Ohio State University--are interpreting citizen-education research findings for dissemination to practitioners. Both projects are funded by the National Institute of Education.

o The Agency for Instructional Television, Bloomington, Ind., is planning a citizenship-education project for 1983.

o The American Bar Association's Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship is conducting a 3-year project to promote elementary school law-related education programs that integrate law and the humanities. The Committee has also been designated the role of coordinator for a major developmental project involving six organizations active in law-related education. The National Endowment for the Humanities is supporting the first project; the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention the second.

o A series of efforts to improve the quality of citizen participation in government led to a

National Conference on Citizen Participation (fall 1978), co-sponsored by governmental and citizens' groups.6/ Followup activities are now underway (see also page 139).

o President Carter, in 1978, directed his Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs to strengthen citizen and consumer involvement in Federal agency decisionmaking. The 96th Congress is considering several proposals for a more consistent and effective approach to citizen participation in the Federal Government.

A NEED FOR COMMITMENT

These and other activities signify growing interest in this area, yet there is a danger that they may have minimal impact. In the 1950's, a Citizenship Education Project at Columbia University devised dozens of ways for action-oriented problem solving in schools and communities. Intensive teacher training was conducted, but the project was abruptly abandoned for lack of funds. Today, numbers of citizen-education projects are inventing comparable techniques without benefit of the experience and ideas the Columbia project might have provided. In a time of growing scarcity, we can ill afford to abandon ongoing efforts, yet we can all too easily imagine a similar end for many promising initiatives of the 1970's.

The USOE Citizen Education Staff believes that it is imperative that there be national leadership in this area, now, sustained by a genuine commitment to major improvement. Such leadership should raise awareness of issues and needs, provide a way to inventory resources, promote promising practices through pilot demonstration programs, and encourage resource sharing and problem solving at the local, State, and national levels. Joint funding from public and private sources would help insure a balance between national goals and diverse local needs.7/ The purpose would be to facilitate communication among existing--but fragmented--activities, and to encourage the redirection and mobilization of resources

to meet emerging needs.

A number of States and school systems are reassessing their educational goals, particularly in response to demands for greater accountability to the public. A critical part of such a review should be an examination of their citizen-education mandate, including an intensive study of the numerous components of citizenship instruction and a review of how each relates to overall goals. In the process, core civic competencies can be determined, duplications eliminated, and areas requiring special attention can be designated. Parents and other citizens should participate in this process, and help link more effectively school and community resources for citizen education.

It is important to acknowledge certain difficulties which may deter the schools from such reassessment. First, the fragmentation of values within our society is reflected in the diversity of opinions concerning the goals of citizen education. Citizen education is difficult to define. Having been used to mean nearly everything, "citizenship education" retains very little meaning of its own:

> Anything anybody wants to teach can be defended as "good citizenship." James Bryant Conant once insisted that literature should be taught because it promoted citizenship, the Modern Language Association argues that in this age of jet transport foreign languages are needed for citizenship; scientists say that we need citizens informed of the capabilities and limitations of science. . . . As a practical matter "citizenship" is a hopeless goal for instruction.8/

During the past decade, many reformers have increasingly chosen to concentrate on a single aspect of citizenship, hoping to make that part, at least, concrete and coherent. The results of that focus have produced some

excellent developmental work, but a fragmented and overloaded curriculum.9/

While citizen education is considered to be amorphous by some, others view it as controversial. Perceptions of citizenship, power, governance, and social change are value-laden. Some citizens identify citizenship with patriotism and the inculcation of national loyalty, while others believe that the issues of power and resource distribution are at its core. A range of perspectives lies in between. Each approach implies a different educational emphasis.

We believe that the issues of vagueness and controversy must be faced directly. Serious attempts should be made to develop practical definitions of citizen education that impose order on this broad area and that encompass a range of relevent objectives. In the process, it will be necessary to transcend existing curriculum labels and take a fresh look at the major components of citizenship. One such attempt appears in chapter 1, table 2. Others are described in chapter 3. Experiments should be encouraged which aim at a reorganization of the curriculum designed to achieve citizen-education goals at various competency levels.

As for the second matter, it is not possible for the schools to be value-free. Curricular choices, research methodologies, teaching techniques--all reflect values. What we argue for here is the elevation of such issues to the level of conscious reflection. Once this has been accomplished, it should be possible to represent in citizen-education programs a diversity of views based on democratic principles, and to welcome controversy in an atmosphere of open discussion.

A third constraint to the reform of citizen education concerns matters of funding and control. Not long ago many looked to the Federal Government as a major agent of educational change, particularly for concerns of national interest. There is indeed a clear national interest in supporting the development of an educated

citizenry that understands, participates in, and is committed to our democratic system of government. That interest is reflected in the historic concern of the public schools with citizenship, and in Federal initiatives related to citizen education.

Yet many persons fear the Federal Government's involvement, particularly in an aspect of education which concerns government and politics. They point to the intrinsic interest of the Government in maintaining the status quo and are afraid that such interest might be translated into control over educational content.

What agencies or groups should provide the impetus for improving citizen education? The USOE Citizen Education Staff believe that, for both practical and ideological reasons, citizen-education programs must rest on broad and diverse community support. They should develop in response to local needs and priorities in keeping with the national concerns of a democratic society. A variety of public and private agencies should help facilitate any reform efforts, lending resources for demonstration, research, evaluation, and coordination not always available at a local level. No one group should have control over a citizen-education project, be it the Federal Government or the State, business, labor, voluntary association, or the media. Any outside assistance must be provided with guarantees that respect intellectual integrity and local autonomy.

The wisdom of our contitutional division of powers is confirmed in educational practice. Assessments of the process of educational reform confirm the vital importance of local autonomy.10/ While sources of outside funding serve to initiate projects that otherwise might not have been started, reforms are unlikely to take hold unless they serve local needs and priorities, and receive support from teachers, parents, and administrators throughout the reform process.

In that spirit, the recommendations that follow represent an agenda to be considered by multiple educational agencies. For the most part, they can be incorporated within current activities and funding sources in both public and private agencies. What they require is a commitment from educators and the general public to probe the relevance of civic competencies for all our lives and to analyze how the many facets of our education work to teach about citizenship.

NINE GOALS FOR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

We believe that commitments to citizen education should concentrate on nine major goals:

1. Reestablishing citizen education as a basic goal of schooling.

2. Understanding the interaction between the hidden and formal curriculum.

3. Designing appropriate professional training experiences.

4. Broadening the constituency served by citizen education.

5. Improving the quality of citizen participation.

6. Coordinating school and community resources.

7. Meeting research needs.

8. Developing analytical viewing skills and expanding media programing efforts.

9. Bridging the gap between citizens and "specialists."

1. Reestablishing Citizen Education as a Basic Goal of Schooling.

Every school in the United States provides instruction about citizenship. As States and school districts examine their mission they should reaffirm citizen education as one of the basic goals of schooling. Programs should be redesigned, where necessary, to provide sequential, cohesive development of civic competencies. In the process, the values that underlie differing philosophies of citizenship should be examined, tensions understood, and programs designed that make meaningful democratic principles and have the understanding and support of educators, parents, and the community.11/ Any integration of the citizen education curriculum should involve the entire school, not just the social studies, and should be directed toward students in the elementary as well as secondary grades.

At present, there are no agreed upon criteria for making curricular choices in citizen education. Yet choices are made. One course replaces another as new ideas or funding sources appear. "Innovations" are dropped in order to return to "basics." Concepts are taught repetitively and haphazardly. For example, political participation may be discussed in political science, consumerism, ecology, American history, world affairs, and so forth. "Perspective taking" may be a goal of multicultural education, law-related education, global studies, or moral reasoning.

In the words of a fifth-grade teacher who wrote the White House to ask how her job might be made more manageable: "We need a consolidation of citizenship issues. Citizenship education is now too fragmented for the schools to effectively handle it."12/ There is evidence that a growing number of educators share her opinion.13/

Where revised State citizenship mandates and proficiency testing efforts are underway, educators, concerned citizens, and legislators should be afforded opportunities to examine citizen education as a whole--through workshops and other training opportunities. Where there is a commitment to redesign,

foundation or Federal funds should help support model planning and demonstration programs, or researcher/practitioner collaboration in sequential program design. Professional associations should bring together theoreticians and developers in the various components of citizen education (e.g., global, law-related, moral reasoning) in order to probe areas of commonality and difference. Funding sources such as the USOE,14/ could provide opportunities for project directors engaged in various aspects of citizen education to meet to consider mutual issues and needs, and explore how their projects fit within the overall citizenship goals of schools. Collaborative inservice training programs might be designed, for example, to develop common skills where appropriate and to provide assistance in planning. Educational improvement of this kind requires a number of approaches; many other actions could be devised.

2. Understanding the Interaction Between the Hidden and Formal Curriculums

The "hidden" curriculum often contradicts the formal one (e.g., students are taught the obligations of citizenship, but are given no opportunities for assuming personal responsibility). We need to develop a greater awareness of this relationship. Research results point to the impact of classroom climate and school governance style on attitudes about politics and government. In general,

> . . . an open climate of opinion expression in which controversial issues are discussed and in which students believe that they can influence the roles and working of the classroom is conducive to shaping democratic political attitudes. . . . More participant and less authoritarian climates are linked with more positive political attitudes and behavior of students.15/

The sensitivity of this issue should not be underestimated. For many people, a "return to basics" implies a return to more formal discipline. Some schools are intensely preoccupied with attempts to maintain rudimentary order. Yet the encouragement of judicious opinions, the consideration of many points of view, and attempts to give students meaningful responsibility in schools should not imply disorder or permissiveness. In fact, some studies show that student satisfaction with participation in school does not depend on the absence of rules, but is likely to relate instead to the responsibility given the students for helping make the rules.16/

Both administrators and teachers should understand how these factors operate and careful evaluation should be conducted of model projects which seek convergence between the formal and hidden curriculum.17/ Professional educational associations, teachers' centers, schools of education, teacher corps sites, State and local inservice projects are all contexts where discussions of the hidden curriculum can be developed, and general attention paid to the teaching of citizen education.

3. Designing Appropriate Professional Training Experiences

Teachers and administrators in citizen education are not likely to be exposed in their training to the issues of citizenship, nor to have opportunities for practical political experience. They are likely to study U.S. history, and take methods courses in college, or--as inservice teachers--to be involved in a few special workshops in component areas of citizen education. There are indications also that some teachers may feel ambivalent about their proper role in citizen education. Teachers' training and their own experiences may reflect conflicting values in this content area. Teachers educated during the Vietnam era, for example, often are not sure what to teach their students about national patriotism.

An understanding of the process of citizen development would help teachers become more aware of how and when children learn political concepts. Philo Washburn, in a 1977 article, quotes several educators' surprise at the levels of children's political awareness and interest. For example,

> I was surprised at the early age at which political socialization started. . . . I never realized what an impact both parents and schools have. . . . [a second grade teacher]
>
> Children seem to be more aware of the political world than I expected. [an assistant principal of a high school] 18/

Appropriate training for the teachers and administrators of citizen-education programs needs to be designed and implemented to provide them with an understanding of the political socialization process, and to allow them to explore their own political attitudes and develop a dialog about these issues within the school, with parents, and with other teachers. Those agencies concerned with certification and accreditation procedures should review their standards to determine the adequacy of teacher preparation in this critical area.

4. Broadening the Constituency Served by Citizen Education

Traditional associations of the term citizenship education with indoctrination, exclusion, or assimilation are still prevalent. Minorities, ethnic groups, and women have yet to be satisfactorily represented in civic-education texts. Although civic competencies are developed in block clubs, neighborhoods, ethnic organizations, or union halls, citizen education is still considered to be "white and middle class."

Low-income students (and therefore many minority group members) score consistently lower on citizenship

assessments. Research, at the same time, indicates that schooling many be a relatively more important influence in shaping political attitudes and behavior for such students than it is for those from middle class backgrounds.19/ There is a need to expand the kinds of programs that would most effectively reach these students and to incorporate in textbooks and developmental programs accurate depictions of the multicultural nature of politics, government, law, and participation.

Educational equity is a major goal of Federal agencies concerned with education. It would be appropriate for them to undertake pilot programs especially designed to reach students not traditionally served by citizen education. The educational activities of civil rights organizations, urban or rural school systems might also have a special interest in meeting this need. Approaches that involved parents along with their children,20/ that undertook action projects in low-income communities, or that combined civic competencies with basic skills seem particularly promising. In addition, professional associations and other key agencies in citizen education should double their efforts to involve groups that are inadequately represented and to broaden their goals so that they include civic competencies relevant to the needs of all Americans.

5. Improving the Quality of Citizen Participation

We believe that educators should be in the forefront of the citizen participation movement, and should contribute to the educational value of participatory experiences. Federal, State, and local educational agencies should serve as a model for others in developing mechanisms to facilitate citizen involvement in agency proceedings, encouraging participation as a meaningful part of decisionmaking, and providing training in civic competencies for both agency employees and concerned citizens.21/

The school is central to community life and well-being. Yet, all too often, participation in educational policy is of a negative nature, with taxpayers disapproving school bonds and withdrawing local tax dollars. One reason for such disapproval is a failure to integrate citizen participation into the planning process, and a reluctance to develop two-way communication between educational agency staff and the public. All too often, citizen participation is perceived of as a way to "sell" a program or policy to the public, or as usurpation of the prerogative of decisionmakers. A growing number of citizens are turning to such devices as the initiative and referendum in an endeavor to force legislators and public officials to listen to them.

Over the past 10 years, we have acquired substantial experience in citizen participation. We now know a great deal about what does not work, and both citizens' groups and public agencies are involved in numerous experiments attempting to create more effective techniques. There has been a proliferation of mandated citizen participation in public programs (see discussion in chapter 1), and there is burgeoning interest in civic action at the grassroots level. Citizen education in the 1980's should reflect this growing acceptance of meaningful participation and incorporate it within curriculum programs and decisionmaking policies.

6. Coordinating School and Community Resources

Citizen education involves all age levels both in and out of the formal school. Yet no systematic procedure identifies and disseminates information about current activities. Better data could produce more intelligent curriculum planning and more efficient use of scarce resources.

A series of interlocking "networks" for citizen education (national, State, regional, and local) could provide a mechanism for taking inventory of resources and facilitating problemsolving.22/ The concept of networking refers to voluntary unbounded associations of

people, held together by common interests and the potential for mutual support and help. In some formalized networks, a coordinator or staff serves a brokerage function by matching needs and resources, and providing opportunities for exchanging ideas, examining mutual problems, developing strategies or guidelines, or conducting collaborative activities. The network allows members to benefit from a local definition of problems and appropriate approaches, while developing broader contacts and access.23/

Citizen-education networks would be welcomed, we believe, by isolated educators and civic group leaders who lack adequate resources. One result might be to develop joint programs between grassroots citizen groups and the schools. Some civic organizations are experimenting with interesting training techniques; many of them offer a way to make citizen education concrete and immediate. Such collaboration holds unexplored potential for strengthening ties between parents and children, community and school.

In proposing the development of citizen-education networks, the USOE Citizen Education Staff believes that such networks would be most effective if: (1) they had sustained support for several years; (2) they encouraged direct contact among members; (3) they involved a genuine exchange of diverse views; and (4) they offered opportunities for holistic consideration of citizen education. Otherwise, these networks could evolve into single-issue advocacy groups, or contribute to the fragmentation of the citizen-education curriculum. An initial activity might be a simple expansion and dissemination of programs described in chapters 3 and 4, based on criteria designed by network staff and users.

Various kinds of organized networks already exist. The HUD Clearinghouse, the HEW National Diffusion Network, the National Commission on Resources for Youth, the Teachers' Center Exchange of the Far West Labortory are several examples. National associations, community schools, libraries and clearinghouses, and other civic

centers are illustrative of existing organizations that could host network staff at minimal cost.

7. Meeting Research Needs

The revitalization of citizen education requires research support in several areas. There is a need to devote scholarly attention to the major issues of contemporary citizenship. The failure to consider citizenship a worthy intellectual topic contributes to inadequate educational programs and to public confusion over the goals of citizenship. Individuals and organizations concerned with research on political socialization, adult learning, and the effects of education should devote serious attention to issues of citizen development. There is also a need to conduct applied research that has relevance for educators, and to devise adequate evaluation techniques. An overall assessment of the needs of basic and applied research should be conducted and projects mounted in areas of deficiency.

A number of research issues have been raised earlier in this report. For example:

- We need reliable longitudinal studies to examine the relationship of early childhood learning to adult political behavior.

- We lack necessary information concerning the relationship between school participation and later adult participation.

- We need naturalistic studies and interviews to develop a better understanding of the construction of the child's political world.

- We need to explore the relationships between indirect and direct political learning and political behavior, and between the social and intellectual prerequisites of citizenship and political activity.

- We need to know more about media exposure, and how this exposure influences our behavior as citizens.

- We need to devise more sophisticated measurement devices that will enable us to gauge appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors at various age levels.

- We need to learn more about what constitutes the most appropriate civic/participatory learning experiences for students at different ages and apply this knowledge in sequential curriculum design.

8. Developing Analytical Viewing Skills and Expanding Media Programing Efforts

The media provide continuing instruction in citizen education. Much of this is negative and sensational in nature. The Citizen Education Staff has noticed a growing interest in the development of constructive media programing and urges its support. Interactive systems, using a variety of formats which combine media presentations with opportunities for group discussion, show promise for citizen education. In addition, with the overwhelming presence of the electronic media for young children and the pervasiveness of the printed word throughout life, one must have the ability to analyze mass media presentations. The development of critical viewing skills represents one important step in dealing positively with existing television programs.

9. Bridging the Gap Between Citizens and "Specialists"

A major issue in contemporary citizenship is the often polarized relationship between citizens and "specialists." Opportunities for citizens and experts to develop a common vocabulary and to exchange views and expertise is an important part of citizen education.

If we can encourage such communication, we may be able to develop more socially sensitive expertise, and at the same time contribute to a better informed public. Several projects described in this report attempt to deal with this problem. An expansion of programs such as Science for Citizens and public debate of technical issues should be encouraged.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

A vigorous dialog about the purposes of citizen education has been central to this USOE project. The Citizen Education Staff urges its continuation and expansion. The nine recommendations previous mentioned could easily be expanded. It is the Staff's hope that they will serve as a basis for further discussion of the most critical needs in citizen education, lead to the setting of priorities among those needs, and result in the mobilization of concrete support and specific strategies for action.

In our current concern with minimal competencies and basic skills we may lose sight of the goals of educational excellence. "Basic skills" are a bridge to citizen education, not a substitute for it. Reading and other communications competencies, for example, are not ends in themselves; they are means by which (1) we grow personally, (2) interact with others, and (3) gain the ability to exert influence over our environment. Citizenship relates to each of these goals, most directly to the third one.

Reform and consolidation of the citizen-education curriculum is a major undertaking. It will not be initiated merely to produce higher scores on achievement tests. Citizen education is not designed to prepare us to find well-paying jobs, or even to gain easy answers to issues that concern us. Active, responsible citizenship involves us with each other, our communities, and the future of our society. It requires commitment and vision. It signals rededication to the creation of a more equitable and humane society for ourselves, our children, and the strangers in our midst.

NOTES

1. National Urban League, "Citizenship Education Project," Report to the Citizen Education Staff, USOE, March 1978, p. 7.

2 Norvel Northcutt et al., "Adult Functional Competency: Summary," Austin, Tex.: University of Texas at Austin, March 1975, p. 6.

3 Education Commission of the States, National Assessment of Educational Progress, "Changes in Political Knowledge and Attitudes, 1969-76." Prepared under Contract No. OEC-0-74-0506 with the National Center for Educational Statistics, January 1976.

4 "Effective Citizenship Education: A Basic Goal of Education in the United States," Committee on Citizenship Education, Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C., 1976.

5 National Task Force on Citizenship Education, "Education for Responsible Citizenship," New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977.

6 In conjunction with the National Conference on Citizen Participation, the following was published: Stuart Langton (ed.), "Citizen Participation in America," Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.

7 For a thoughtful discussion of the issue of control, see LeAnn Meyer, "The Citizenship Education Issue: Problems and Programs," Denver, Colo.: Education Commission of the States, November 1978.

8 Martin Mayer, "Where, When, and Why: Social Studies in American Schools," New York: Harper and Row, 1962, pp. 96-99.

9 Richard Remy in "Citizen Education Today," a draft report prepared for USOE, pp. 24-25. Available in Microfiche from EDRS, P.O. Box 190, Arlington, Va. 22210. ED 162924.

10 USOE Policy Studies Staff, "Research Perspective on Educational Improvement," staff report, October 1977.

11 Recent developments in Federal policy suggest a growing acceptance of the concept of community involvement and collaboration in school programs. In the Education Amendments of 1978 (P.L. 95-561), for example, several of the major mandates provide support for programs that expand learning beyond the school building, and that involve parents, the media, and institutions within the local community in improving education.

12 Taken from a letter to the White House, referred for reply to the USOE Citizen Education Staff, 1978.

13 Meyer, op. cit.

14 The USOE, for example, has recently combined its small, discretionary grant programs in a new administrative unit, the Bureau of School Improvement. This Bureau could play a major role in reducing fragmentation of the citizen-education curriculum by encouraging communication and collaboration.

15 Lee H. Ehman, "The Function of the School in the Political Socialization Process: American Findings," paper prepared for the International Conference on Political Socialization and Political Education, Tutzing, Federal Republic of Germany, October 1977.

16 J. McPartland, E. McDill, C. Lacey, R. Harris, and L. Novey, "Student Participation in High School Decisions. A Study of Students and Teachers in 14 Urban High Schools," New York: Center for Social Organization of Schools, 1977.

17 One such project is the Danforth School and Classroom Democracy Project, a 3-year study of implementation of classroom democracy in elementary schools. Staff development and observational classroom studies of teachers in grades K-8 will focus on the hidden curriculum and issues of governance and social development.

18 Philo C. Washburn, "Children and Watergate: Some Neglected Considerations," Sociological Focus, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1977, pp. 349-350.

19 Ehman, op. cit., pp. 9, 11, 16, 24.

20 Recent Federal legislative developments also have relevance for this issue. Amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act emphasize the vital importance of parental involvement in their children's education under titles I, II, III, and IV of that act, as amended by P.L. 95-561.

21 For example, the new Horace Mann Learning Center has been established specifically to promote academic and career development of USOE employees and to provide a forum for discussion and debate of current educational concerns. Through the Learning Center, USOE employees and citizens could address the issues of citizen participation and acquire skills necessary for meaningful public involvement. Similar activities at State or local levels should be encouraged.

22 For a discussion of networking, see S. Sarason, C. Carroll, K. Maton, S. Cohen, and E. Lorentz, "Human Services and Resource Networks," San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1977.

23 At the Federal level, the expansion of the Community Education program, the new Cities-in-the-schools, the expressed interest of the Commissioner of Education in strengthening the ties between schools, the home, and the community, as well as legislative developments mentioned above, are all indications of a growing realization that the schools are but a part of a communitywide educational system which requires attention and support.

APPENDIX A.--Workshops and Publications prepared under contract with the Citizen Education Staff, U.S. Office of Education, 1977-78

Workshops

October 1977.--The Role of the Media in Citizen Education. Sponsored by the University of Michigan's Department of Journalism, Center for Political Studies, and Institute for Social Research; held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. F. Gerald Kline, Project Director.

November 1977.--The Role of Labor Unions in Citizen Education. Sponsored by the University and College Labor Education Association; held at the George Meany Labor Studies Center, Silver Spring, Md. John R. MacKenzie, Project Director.

November 1977.--The Role of Business in Citizen Education. Sponsored by the Human Resources Network, Philadelphia, Pa.; held in St. Louis, Mo., and New York City. David C-H. Johnston, Project Director.

December 1977.--Neghborhoods organizations and citizen education. Sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in conjunction with the National Association of Neighborhoods; held in Chicago, Ill.

Winter 1977-1978.--Involving citizens in defining citizenship education, a series of meetings in Cambridge, Mass. Nancy B. Wyner, Project Director.

February 1978.--Citizenship education community forum. Sponsored by the National Urban League; held under the auspices of the Nashville Urban League, Nashville, Tenn. Carol Gibson, Project Director.

Publications and Reports

"Citizen Participation: Building a Constituency for Public Policy," Nea and Walter Toner, Jr. For sale by

the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01997-3. $1.80.

"An Analysis of the Role of the U.S. Office of Education and Other Selected Federal Agencies in Citizen Education," Ann Maust and Lucy Knight. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01999-0. $2.

"New Directions in Communications Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation," Larry Rothstein. For sale by the Superindent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01998-1. $1.60

"Examining the Role of the Workplace in Citizen Education," U.S. Office of Education. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01994-9. $2.35

"Key Concepts of Citizenship: Perspectives and Dilemmas," Robert Salisbury. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01995-7. $2.10

"Citizen Education and the Future," by Willis Harman. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock number 017-080-01996-5. $2.30

"Citizen Education Today," a draft report by Stephen McCurley, Howard Mehlinger, John Patrick, Richard Remy, and Judith Torney. Available in microfiche from ERIC Documentary Reproduction Service, P.O. 190, Arlington, Va. 22210. ED 162924.

"Education and Citizenship: A Conference Report," Jan Klinger Hamilton (ed.), Denver, Colo.: U.S. Office of Education, 1977.

"Who Teaches Citizenship? A Survey of Documents and Resources," by Mary Jane Turner. ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., Boulder Colo.: 1977.

"Citizenship Education Project of the National Urban League," by Ronald Searcy and Carol Gibson. Final report prepared pursuant to OE contract P00780045. New York: National Urban League, March 1978.

"The Cambridge Study: Involving Citizens in Defining Citizenship Education," by Nancy B. Wyner. Education Development Center, Newton, Mass., 1978.

"Assessment of Civic Competencies," by Ruth S. Jones. Final report prepared pursuant to OE contract P00780496.

APPENDIX B.--A Sampling of Organizations Concerned with Citizen Education

ACORN
628 Baronne St.
New Orleans, La. 70113
Wade Rathke, Chief Organizer

Action for Children's Television
46 Austin St.
Newtonville, Mass. 02160
Peggy Charren, President

AFL-CIO
815 16th St., NW.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Walter Davis, Director of Education

Agency for Instructional Television
1670 South Amphlett Blvd., Suite 306
San Mateo, Calif. 94402
Gordan Hughan, Associate Director

Alliance for Citizen Education
401 North Broad St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19108
Edward Schwartz, Director

American Association of Colleges for
Teacher Education
Room 610, One Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036
Frank Klassen, Director, Multicultural Education
Projects

American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Ave., NW.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Sheilah Mann, Education Director

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10016
Eleanor Blumenberg, National Education Director

Babcock and Wilcox
161 East 42d St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
Frank Ryan, Manager of Communications

Carnegie-Mellon Education Center
Porter Hall 223
Carnegie-Mellon University
5000 Forbes Ave.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213
Edwin Fenton, Director

Center for Citizenship Education
1100 17th St., NW., Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036
Mary Ann Kirk, Executive

Center for Information on America
Washington, Conn. 06793
Townsend Scudder, President

Center for the Study of Parent Involvement
5240 Boyd Ave.
Oakland, Calif. 94618
David Saffron, Director

Center on Economics and Social Studies Education
George Peabody College for Teachers
Box 324
Nashville, Tenn. 37203
Ronald Galbraith, Director

Chamber of Commerce of the United States
1615 H Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20062
John Sullivan, Public Affairs Director

Children's Public Policy Network
P.O. Box 19085
Washington, D.C. 20006
Don Mathis, Coordinator

Citizenship Development Project
Mershon Center
199 West 10th Ave.
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43201
Richard Remy, Director

Citizen Participation Curriculum Project
University of Wisconsin
225 North Mills St.
Madison, Wis. 53706
Fred Newmann, Director

City Building Educational Program
235 South Westgate Ave.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90049
Doreen Nelson, Director

Close-Up
Suite 316, 1055 Thomas Jefferson St., NW.
Washington, D.C. 20007
Stephen Janger, President

Common Cause
2030 M Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20036
David Cohen, Director

Community Board Program
149 Ninth St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94103
Raymond Shonholtz, Executive Director

Community Forums
American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
Suite 410, One Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036
Diane Eisenberg, Director

Constitutional Rights Foundation
6310 San Vicente Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90048
Vivien Monroe, President

Continental Group
633 Third Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10017
Holmes Brown, Director of Education and Community Relations

Council of Chief State School Officers
1201 16th St., NW.
Washington, D.C.
William Pierce, Executive Director

Courses by Newspaper
University of California, San Diego
X-002, La Jolla, Calif. 92093
George A. Colburn, Project Director

The Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Ave.
St. Louis, Mo. 63105
Geraldine Bagby, Vice-President

Danforth School and Classroom Democracy Project
Boston University
232 Bay State Rd.
Boston, Mass. 02215
Ralph Mosher, Director

Education Development Center
55 Chapel St.
Newton, Mass. 02160
Janet Whitla, Director, School and Society Programs

Encampment for Citizenship, Inc.
2 West 64th St.
New York, N.Y. 10023
Robert Lubetsky, Director

First Bank System, Inc.
1400 First National Bank Bldg.
P.O. Box 522
Minneapolis, Minn. 55480
Roger Cook, Assistant Vice President

Ford Foundation
320 East 43d St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
Edward Meade, Program Officer

Foreign Policy Association
345 East 46th St.
New York, N.Y. 10017
Carter L. Burgess, Chairman

Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education
Education Division, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 3141, 400 Maryland Ave., SW.
Washington, D.C. 20202
Ernest Bartell, Director

George Meany Center for Labor Studies
10000 New Hampshire Ave.
Silver Spring, Md. 20903
Fred Hoehler, Director

Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.
218 East 18th St.
New York, N.Y. 10003
Larry Condon, President

The Hazen Foundation
400 Prospect St.
New Haven, Conn. 06511
Anne L. Hoblitzelle, Assistant Director

Home and School Institute
Trinity College
Washington, D.C. 20017
Dorothy Rich, Director

I/D/E/A
P.O. Box 446
Melbourne, Fla. 32901
B. Frank Brown, Director of Information and Services

In Flight Humanities Project
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Ill. 60115
David M. Grossman, Director

The Institute
628 Baronne St.
New Orleans, La. 70113
Charles Koppelman, Executive Director

Institute for Political/Legal Education
207 Delsea Dr.
RFD #4, Box 209
Sewell, N.J. 08080
Myron Judy, Administrator

Institute for Responsive Education
704 Commonwealth Ave.
Boston, Mass. 02215
Don Davies, President

Institute for the Study of Civic Values
401 North Broad St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19108
Edward Schwartz, Director

Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity
Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education
Suite 1880, 55 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Ill. 60604
David Roth, Midwest Director

Interagency Council on Citizen Participation
Federal Communications Commission
1919 M Street, NW., Room 258
Washington, D.C. 20554
Belle L. O'Brien, President

Joint Council on Economic Education
1212 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10036
M. L. Frankel, President

Charles F. Kettering Foundation and I/D/E/A
5335 Far Hills Ave.
Dayton, Ohio 45429
Samuel Sava, Director

Law in Action National Office
393 North Euclid Ave., Room 25
St. Louis, Mo. 63108
Trudy Faust, Coordinator

Law in a Free Society
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